

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 2

**The Catholic Giant of
the Northwest**

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**History in the
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**The Popes and the
Renaissance**

Gesta Dei per Jesuitas

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VOL. XVII

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Table of Contents

CATHOLIC GIANT OF THE NORTHWEST	W. PATRICK DONNELLY	23
LUDWIG VON WINDTHORST	FRANCIS X. CURRAN	25
EDITORIALS		27
THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE	PETER M. DUNNE	29
RESEARCH IN HISTORY	GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN	31
MORE CATHOLIC HISTORY	SISTER M. LILLIANA OWENS	33
GESTA DEI PER JESUITAS	JOSEPH P. DONNELLY	37
BOOK REVIEWS		39

THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN is indexed in the Catholic Magazine Index of *The Catholic Bookman*

Catholic Giant of the Northwest

W. Patrick Donnelly, S. J., M. A.

St. Mary's College

THE Founding Fathers of American democracy, in striking every semblance of a titled Nobility from the nation's statute books, benefited posterity immensely by the change. Consequently, in strictly American history, there have been no Nobles, but many noble men! "Nature's noblemen" we like to call those exalted characters who have proved themselves "every inch a man." Forced to invent descriptive titles of honor, Americans have responded with a plethora of expressive epithets that galvanize into a few words the heroicity of a life-time. Such, for example, are "Father of his country", "The Patriot-Priest", "Father of the American Navy", "Old Hickory", "Unconditional Surrender Grant", "Stonewall" Jackson, "The Trustbuster", and so on through a litany of America's great.

Dr. John McLoughlin, Catholic pioneer of Oregon, whose like "before or after him, was unknown", has merited a whole catalogue of titles all his own. His tomb in Oregon City bears the epitaph, "The Pioneer and Friend of Oregon—Also the Founder of this City." The Indians liked to call him the "White Eagle" which his dignified bearing and streaming white locks suggested to them. Others have dubbed him the "Pioneer of Pioneers" or the "Emperor of the West." His biographer, Frederick Holman, says, "Of all the names and titles given to, or bestowed upon Dr. John McLoughlin, the one I like best is 'Father of Oregon'; for he was, and is truly, the Father of Oregon." Beneath his portrait, placed directly behind the speaker's chair in the State Senate House, we read the inscription, "Founder of Oregon."

All of the honorary titles lavished on McLoughlin look only to his great deeds and therefore, while they scale upwards to the highest peaks of praise, they remain bounded by the horizon of *admiration*. We must look

further to the well-spring or fountain-head from which his lofty deeds flowed, if we would arrive at real *understanding* and *appreciation*. That fountain-head was his Catholic soul. For, contrary to general belief, McLoughlin did not become a Catholic convert only in 1842, but was, as Father Campbell says, "All his life a devout and practical Catholic."

From every aspect—physically, morally, mentally—McLoughlin was a veritable giant! In the words of Hubert Bancroft, historian of the Far West, "Body, mind and heart were all carved in gigantic proportions." Standing six feet four inches and perfectly proportioned, this great-souled Irishman accomplished things on a scale commensurate with the 400,000 mile fur kingdom over which he ruled. And although Oregon has first claim on him, he rightfully belongs to the whole Northwest beyond the Great Divide. He governed a territory that would have made European monarchs look like pigmies. All of Germany, England, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland could have nestled snugly within a domain that included what are now the states of Oregon, Washington, California, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, part of Montana, and a big slice of Canada. Such, in brief, are the ideas that we have in mind when we designate Dr. John McLoughlin as *The Catholic Giant of the Northwest*.

I.

John McLoughlin, born October 19, 1784, was the second of seven children that blessed the union of his Catholic parents. His father was a native of Ireland; his mother, Angélique Fraser, though born in Canada, was of Scotch descent. Since there was no priest in the parish of Rivière du Loup where John McLoughlin was born, his parents took him to Kamouraska, Canada, for his baptism, which took place on November third of

the same year. Indicative of the religious spirit of his family is the fact that one of his sisters, Marie Louise, and four of his nieces became Ursuline nuns.

Of McLoughlin's early life not a great deal is known. Certain it is that he and his brother David took up the study of medicine and received their degrees in Europe. In fact McLoughlin's first connection with the Northwest Fur Company (which he joined probably about 1814 or 1815) was in the capacity of physician. However his energy, ability, and qualities of leadership brought him rapidly to the top, and when the Northwest Company was merged in 1821 with its erstwhile rival, the Hudson Bay Company, McLoughlin was chosen to go to London to arrange the coalition.

II.

The Hudson Bay Company, thus enlarged, looking for the right man for the right place, named Dr. John McLoughlin as Chief Factor of the Company in the Oregon country. When he arrived at the Company's Fort George (Astoria) in 1824, to begin his phenomenal conquest of the northwestern fur empire at the age of thirty-nine, his discriminating eye at once perceived the advisability of selecting a more advantageous site for the capital of his kingdom. Analyzing the reports of numerous surveying expeditions, with unerring, far-sighted judgment, McLoughlin determined on a spot on the Columbia river seven miles above the point where the Willamette river empties into the larger Columbia. Here in 1825, in this silent, primitive, well nigh boundless wilderness, he began the construction of Fort Vancouver which for the next two decades was to be an oasis of civilization in the midst of the trackless northwestern forests. In her *Conquest of the Great Northwest*, Laut gives us the following picture of Fort Vancouver:

"This fort stood at a bend in the river on the north side, far enough from the coast to be away from the rivalry of Pacific schooners, and near enough to be in touch with tidewater. . . . It was the capital of a kingdom. Spruce slabs half a foot thick, twenty feet high, sharp at both ends and in double rows, composed the walls. Great gates with brass hinges extending half way across the top and bottom beams opened leaf-wise toward the river. On the northwest corner stood a bastion whose lower stories served as powder magazine and upper windows as lookout. Cannon bristled through the double palisades of the fort, and to one side of the main gate was the customary wicket, through which goods could be exchanged for furs from the Indians. The big, two-story, timbered house in the center of the court was the residence of the chief factor. On both sides were stores and warehouses and fur presses and the bachelors' quarters and the little log cabins, where lived the married trappers. Trim lawns decorated with little rockeries of cannon balls divided the different buildings, and in front of the chief factor's residence, on the top of a large flagpole, there blew to the breeze the flag with the letters H. B. C.—a sign that a brigade was coming in, or a brigade setting out, or that a ship had been sighted, or that it was Sunday and the flying flag was signal to the Indians there would be no trade, a custom that has lasted to this day."

From this post the Giant of the northwest ruled his kingdom with all the independence of a medieval baron. He held undisputed sway over the several hundred persons living in and about the fort, of tens of thousands of Indians, and when American immigration began to flow in torrents in the 40's, thousands of American pioneers became dependent on his bounty. But if *facile princeps* and absolute master of thousands, he was (and this is one of his chief claims to glory) also absolute master of himself! His government was firm without being strait-laced; loyal to the Hudson Bay Company without being

supine; just without being severe; dictatorial without being tyrannical; Catholic without being intolerant. He pinned his ideals to the towering mast of Christian charity and never once lowered them in base salute to fame, fortune, or popularity.

The Doctor was an exceedingly active man and did more than merely send out his Canadian *voyageurs* and fur brigades into river and mountain defile. He himself traveled over his vast domain à *pas de géant*, inspecting, improving, solidifying, and establishing new posts subsidiary to Fort Vancouver. The network of forts which he established for trading purposes rose to more than twenty. Under his highly efficient business administration the wings of commerce waxed strong and circled over the northwest in ever-widening arcs. His annual earnings for the Hudson Bay Company in pelts and furs averaged between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000, figures that represent enormous sums for that day.

Goods and supplies, both for domestic use and for trading, came from England since the Hudson Bay Company was a British concern, but the practical-minded Chief Factor soon had a farm established that supplied the post with fresh fruits, vegetables, grain, and dairy products. In 1836 this farm produced 8,000 bushels of wheat; 5,500 of barley; 6,000 of oats; 9,000 of peas, and 14,000 bushels of potatoes.

III.

To the Indians, McLoughlin was known as the "White Eagle" or the "Great White Chief." His sterling qualities of character and his keen appreciation of human nature enabled him to maintain the most cordial relations with the tribesmen. Holman is of the opinion that "No man in the Oregon Country ever knew the Indian character, or knew how to control and to manage Indians as well as Dr. McLoughlin did." And if we qualify this judgment in favor of McLoughlin's friend, the great American missionary Father De Smet, it will undoubtedly stand at face value. During the entire 22-year span of his direction of the destinies of the Hudson Bay Company and the kingdom of the Northwest, Indian wars were unknown! Scarcely had this benign ruler severed his connection with the Company when the red men's tom-toms began to beat bloody defiance to the whites, which the armed strength of the hastily-summoned American armies failed to silence completely, or for any length of time.

Liquor was always one of the worse plagues that the white invasion of Indian territory brought in its wake. McLoughlin, well aware of this, adopted a policy from the very outset by which he absolutely refused to sell liquor to the Indians. And since such a policy could not be effective if whiskey was sold to the whites, he also stopped the sale of intoxicants to them. To keep such a wise policy active, at least on one occasion when the American trading ship *Thomas Perkins* put in to the Columbia river for trade with a large quantity of intoxicants aboard, Dr. McLoughlin bought up the entire cargo and stored it away unused in the Hudson Bay Company's warehouse.

McLoughlin was justly proud of his record of justice and Christian treatment of the Indians, and when forced to defend himself against calumny, did not hesitate to

(Turn to page thirty-five)

Ludwig von Windthorst

Francis X. Curran, S. J., M. A.

Woodstock College

LUDWIG WINDTHORST played his part on a stage whose center was occupied by the brilliant performance of its chief actor, Prince Bismarck. Yet Windthorst's rôle marks him out as one of the greatest Catholic laymen of the Nineteenth Century.

Mirabeau, who once declared his ugliness was a power, would have found a worthy rival in Windthorst. On the German's weak, shrunken body was perched an enormous head, the most prominent features of which were a large forehead, an enormous mouth, and weak sunken eyes hidden behind thick spectacles. It is typical of the man that, since he could barely use his eyes, he so developed his memory that after listening to a speech in the Reichstag, he could answer it point by point without notes, and with invariable success.

His talents, as the enemies of his principles and his Church had reason to acknowledge, were remarkable. Through his ability to stir up the enthusiasm of the German people he played a large part in the erection and conservation of the Center Party. He was a debater without a peer in the Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag. His wit, often sharpened by irony, nettled his opponents into violent indiscretions. Bismarck, who hated him and feared him as he feared no other man, complained that his oratory was not oil, but vitriol poured on an open wound.

If not the first, Windthorst is among the first of German parliamentary leaders. He welded his followers of the Center into a solid group, perfectly disciplined and so obedient to his will that he was considered autocratic. It is chiefly due to his skillful leadership that the Center not only did not melt away under the heavy fire directed against it by Bismarck and his supporters, but swelled its numbers and finally forced the Iron Chancellor to comply with its demands. It is regrettable that Windthorst spent his life in Opposition and did not have a chance to display his unquestionably great administrative talents. The Center Party of the last century was the greatest proof of Windthorst's ability. Under his powerful leadership, it became a most powerful party in the German Empire, and Windthorst, at its head, became the arbiter of the parliamentary destinies of Germany.

Ludwig Windthorst was born January 17, 1812, at Kalendorf, a village near Osnabrück in Hanover, of a legal family of some note. He received his early education at the Carolinum, an endowed school of Osnabrück. Later, from 1830 to 1836, he followed legal courses at the Universities of Heidelberg and Göttingen, where a riotous young Junker named Bismarck was spending his time in duelling and beer-drinking. It is doubtful whether, during that period, the studious David ever met his future Goliath. In 1836, Windthorst was admitted to the Bar at Osnabrück. In 1838, he married Julia Engeln, sister of a former schoolmate. The story of this match is amusing and illustrative of his tenacity. Since his appearance found no favor in the eyes of the chosen lady, Windthorst made use of a moon-lit night, a serenade on the guitar (mastered especially for the occasion), an

unpremeditated fall into a nearby brook, and a Venus-like emergence from the waves, that resulted in an engagement—his first diplomatic triumph.

In the restricted arena of Hanover, then an independent kingdom, Windthorst's political talents were soon recognized. By appointment of the King, he was made President of the Catholic Board of Churches and Schools in 1842. In this office Windthorst gained a knowledge of the relations of Church and State that in later days would prove invaluable. The Revolution of 1848 forced the King, George V, to reestablish the Constitution of 1837, which had been abrogated. Windthorst was elected deputy to the reconstituted Parliament and at once manifested power as a parliamentary leader and orator. Always an enemy of absolutism and centralization, he adhered to the *Gross Deutsch* party which advocated a federal union of German States, including Austria, that would yet preserve their independence. He was shortly recognized as the true leader of the federalists. With the passing of time his influence increased. In 1851, he was elected president of the Chamber of Deputies—the only Catholic ever to attain that honor. In the same year he accepted the portfolio of Minister of Justice, which he soon relinquished, since he could not subscribe to the reactionary policies of his blind King. In 1853, he returned to parliamentary life. He was again Minister of Justice from 1862 to 1865. During the momentous years 1866-1870 he remained in obscurity. In 1870, when Hanover was no longer a kingdom, but a Prussian province, and humiliated Austria had been driven out of Germany, the man who had created the Imperial Throne of Germany and destroyed that of France, marshalled his forces for an attack on the Church. He found his way blocked by the Center Party and its leader, Windthorst.

"Hate," said Bismarck, "as a spur of life, is no less important than love. Two people are indispensable to me: the one is my wife, and the other is Windthorst." (Emil Ludwig, *Bismarck*, N. Y. 1927. p. 412.) Bismarck, who had founded and destroyed empires, feared this little Hanoverian lawyer. He once exclaimed before a group of his parliamentary adherents, "I am the only man in the Empire who has the courage to oppose Windthorst." (René Bazin, *Windthorst: ses alliés et ses adversaires*. Paris. 1896. p. 193.) Windthorst's courage stirs the admiration of Bismarck's biographers. "It required courage to stand up to Bismarck, but Windthorst smilingly removed the gloves, and took and gave telling punishment with a finished equanimity." (Robertson, *Bismarck*. London. 1918. p. 320.) Bismarck's fury reached such a point that before the Reichstag itself he made violent personal attacks upon this "wolf in ultramontane clothing." He even charged the Center to dismiss Windthorst as a condition to the granting of religious peace. The bear was asking the flock to drive away the watch-dog! This hatred of Bismarck is a compliment to Windthorst, and a well-deserved one. Not only was Windthorst the personification of much that Bismarck hated, anti-Prussianism, ultramontanism, fed-

eralism. He was the most able and dangerous critic of Bismarck's policies. Ludwig makes the interesting statement: "Windthorst was the only man who effected a personal conquest of Bismarck, and that was why the conquered champion never got over his defeat." (*loc. cit.*) Yet when Bismarck, prodded on by Windthorst, set out on the road to Canossa, the price he asked for religious peace was the support in the Reichstag of the man he hated: he drank a cup filled with a double draught of gall. He received a support for his social measures that was whole-hearted. For Windthorst was too much a Christian to bear a grudge, and too much a statesman to have a memory for personal wrongs.

For twenty years Windthorst and the Center Party were inseparable. His status as a founder of the party has been questioned and denied. But the popular belief that he was a founder rests on good testimony. In any case he soon gained ascendancy in the party councils. By 1872 Bismarck was speaking of him as the leader of the Centrists. When Mallinckrodt died in 1874, Windthorst was acclaimed throughout Germany not only as the chief of the Center, but as the leader of all German Catholicism. It was under Windthorst's guidance that the Center performed its most useful work. Without the Center, the Kulturkampf would not, humanly speaking, have been destroyed. Without the votes of the Center, that laudable social legislation advocated by Bismarck in the Eighties would not have become law. Windthorst made the Center the rallying point for all German Catholics, and round it did they gather, democrats of the Rhine, federalists of Silesia, Prussian patriots and Bavarian particularists, Poles, Alsations, and Guelfs.

As a political tactician, Windthorst was superb; as a political strategist he was a great social reformer and a great Christian. He solved for his time that question that shall never be settled finally, the relations between Church and State. He fought against Prussian Junkertum for the freedom of all the Churches. He struggled for the free teaching of religion in the schools. He fought against the expulsion of the religious congregations. When they had been expelled, he sought their return, and at the time of his death had secured the return of all save the Jesuits. He urged his followers to build up a Catholic press; and under his inspiration the number of Catholic periodicals increased remarkably. The social and economic conditions of the working classes occupied his thoughts. Under his leadership the Center fostered the organization of unions among the workers of Germany and gave them powerful aid in their struggle for their rights. One of the last and greatest of Windthorst's acts was the foundation of the "People's Union for Catholic Germany," an organization to educate the Catholic workmen not only in apologetic, but also in political, social and economic questions. These aims and achievements stamp Windthorst as not only a liberal (without capital "L"), but a socially-minded statesman.

More than half the twenty years of Windthorst's leadership of the Center were spent in fighting Bismarck's Kulturkampf. The struggle began in 1871 by the destruction of the Catholic section of the Prussian Ministry of Worship, and the incorporation of the famous *Kanzel-paragraph* into the Criminal Code. The next years saw

the expulsion of the religious orders, the passage of the "May Laws", and the subsequent persecution of the clergy. Windthorst during these days was not idle. He did his part in arousing and sustaining the popular agitation. In Landtag and Reichstag he directed the actions of the Center with great energy. But though the debates on the passage of the laws were most violent, Windthorst did great service to his cause by restraining extremists and thus keeping the road open for reconciliation. In the elections he made good use of the material provided by the Kulturkampf. In 1873, he doubled the number of Centrist voters, from 750,000 to 1,500,000, and increased the representation of the party in the Reichstag from sixty-three to ninety-one. Nor did he allow the numbers of his party to decrease in the following elections.

Thanks to the popular agitation and the pressure of the Center in the Reichstag and Landtag, Bismarck eventually realized that he must conciliate the Catholics. In 1878 Leo XIII appealed directly to the Emperor, who was weary of the Kulturkampf. Bismarck at last yielded. But as all statesmen are Orientals on the matter of "saving face," the liquidation was necessarily slow. By the time of Windthorst's death, practically all of the offensive laws had been removed from the statute-books.

The price of peace was the support of the Center for Government policies. But Bismarck never succeeded in making the Center a Government party, though it supported him on many measures. In the case of the "Septennate," a bill giving Bismarck control of funds for military purposes for seven years, instead of the usual one year, the Chancellor, knowing that Windthorst was opposed to the measure, asked the Roman Curia to apply pressure that the Center might vote for the bill. The Curia complied. Windthorst did not even mention the message to his party. Only when the instructions were repeated did Windthorst take action. Leaving a few members to vote against the Septennate, he, with the great majority of his associates, absented himself from the parliamentary action on the bill. The implications were clear to the Chancellor and to the Curia as well.

In 1890 Bismarck handed in his resignation. Windthorst did not long survive the fall from power of the mighty Colossus whose high-handed absolutism he had fought, and whose social reforms he had generously supported. On March 14, 1891, the life of the great Catholic layman came to its close. In delirium three hours before his death, he gave a full speech, as if before the Reichstag, asking for the return of the Jesuits. He died, as he lived and as Lacordaire had lived and died, an "impenitent friend of freedom."

The Catholic Church and Germany, by that death, lost one of the greatest men of the century. In a sense, his work has not endured. The Center Party no longer exists. The Bismarckian Kulturkampf has been succeeded by another and more violent struggle against the Church. But the inspiration of the man, his ideals, his political creed live on. Windthorst is as much a part of the history of Germany as Bismarck. Germany and the Catholic Church today await another Windthorst—after the passing of a storm in which parliamentary tactics would be futile.

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EDITORIALS

Democracy in America

Just one hundred years ago, in 1838, appeared the first American edition of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Three years earlier the French original had opened the salons of Paris to the obscure young author, made him a peer in literary circles, and called forth a chorus of praise in the learned journals of the time. Three years later, after the publication of a third and fourth volume, Tocqueville was admitted to the French Academy and decorated with the Legion of Honor. *Democracy in America* was, and still is, a classic, "to Americans a great text, to Englishmen a storehouse of wisdom, to Frenchmen a bible of political precepts and a prophecy of change." Those who know the work will be interested in its genesis; those who do not will find an excellent introduction to it in George Wilson Pierson's *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. xiv & 852. \$7.50).

Back in 1831, on the morrow of the July Revolution, two youthful French aristocrats landed in New York. Alert, intelligent, industrious and very much in earnest, they toured the country from New England to New Orleans, observing people and institutions, interviewing statesmen, politicians, socialites, state prisoners, anybody and everybody who would talk to them. The pretext for their semi-official visit was to investigate our efficient and humanitarian prison system. Their real objective was the study of democracy in action. Whether the reader is interested in the travellers themselves or in their panoramic view of American life, he will improve his mind painlessly by following their wanderings and reflecting on their reflections.

Tocqueville had not come to praise democracy in America. Nor was his purpose to aid in burying it in France. He sensed its dangers anywhere, and he was more than dubious about its beneficent character in Europe. But he was among the pioneers who divined the importance of the levelling tendency and wished to save real values which it threatened to destroy. He made mistakes, which was to be expected in a self-educated foreigner of twenty-five. But he possessed an open mind, the humility of a scholar, sincerity and the desire to be right. For Lord Acton he was "hardest to find fault

with." And because few Americans could resent his criticism, critics for a hundred years have been kind to him.

When he approached the American scene Tocqueville was not an historian and he had had no scientific training. But in 1836 the *Knickerbocker Magazine* confessed that he "understood men and things, and even Americans." Later, a French critic, Émile Faguet was to write that Tocqueville possessed an "intuition of the modern world more than any other man." Call him a pathfinder among sociologists or a "psychologist of humankind," historians will still insist upon ranking him high among their own. His "magistral analysis of a great enthusiasm of the nineteenth century" is only part of his contribution to history. Professor Pierson sees in him a thinker who fell "just short of genius," and a writer for whom "morality and high principle were an absorbing cult." Such was the man who sought in America a laboratory specimen of democracy.

The hearty reception accorded Tocqueville and his friend melted their aristocratic prejudices perceptibly. And the enthusiasm of Americans for their new way of life had a warming effect upon them. On the other hand, Americans could not help liking their highly cultured guests. But the Frenchmen were not swept off their feet by the rush and noise and self-assurance of boisterous young America. Tocqueville had, in fact, a scarcely concealed contempt for money-making and material well-being. He did not glimpse the future bigness of America nor the significance of the Industrial Revolution for the reason that he was not interested in mechanical forces. He had come to study a political phenomenon of which the moral and spiritual elements were, he was convinced, the most vital and important. And even here he was concerned less with external appearances than with the reality beneath them. He relied rather on the "x-ray of the mind" than the "camera of the eye." No wonder he was accused of lack of perspective by those who failed to see the things that he saw!

But if the refined aristocrat was a bit ruffled by the boistful conceit and the manifestations of the small-town bourgeois mind which he encountered, he could still admire the relative purity of morals, the family virtues

and the religious spirit of his hosts. True, he detected a subtle egoism even in their most admirable qualities. And he saw clearly enough that the lingering hold of Puritan morality was maintained largely because Americans were so immersed in the pursuit of material gain. Amid all the ceaseless movement, restlessness and change there stood out the dominant desire for personal advantage, nurtured by ever-present opportunity in a land of unlimited resources.

Where people were bent upon business success a loosely organized and inefficient government was tolerable, and even desirable. Democracy functioned well in America, but this was due to accidental circumstances, and not to any virtue inherent in the system. In a word, America was not France, and what worked in one country might lead to disaster in the other. Tocqueville could acknowledge our good points, and in the same breath warn his own nation against the folly of imitation. He was saddened by the price that would have to be paid for the doubtful benefits of democracy. In the general disillusionment of the present his voice has a clearer ring than at any time during the past generation. *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* is the kind of book that will hold the thoughtful reader far into the night.

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Tocqueville saw in the moral strength of Americans the hope of democracy. He regretted the passing of the aristocratic spirit, with the already noticeable loss of distinction, of statesmanship, of pride in public service. Across a century of jungle ethics, of economic lawlessness and spiritual atrophy, Herbert Agar in his *Pursuit of Happiness* (Houghton Mifflin, 1938, pp. 387, \$3.00) stretches a friendly hand. Agar has written one of the most sensible books we have enjoyed for some time. He sub-titles the volume, *The Story of American Democracy*. But we are less interested in Mr. Jefferson's party, the Jackson machine, the Planter aristocracy, and the respectable conservatism of Cleveland than in the author's analysis of the democracy which we haven't got.

The elusive thing called democracy cannot be solely political, nor solely economic. It will never be effective without a moral code. Mr. Agar insists: "There are three parts to the democratic ideal: the spiritual affirmation on which it rests, the economic order which it demands, and the political machinery which puts it into effect." The political machinery is a mere tool, which cannot preserve a sham democracy, nor create a democracy which does not exist. Yet this is "the only aspect of democracy which we have fully attained." The phrases we mouth about rights, equality and liberty "have become smooth and soothing through much use." If taken seriously, these "are fighting words. They are almost as revolutionary as Christianity." But Jimmy Hines can buy votes for a "scuttle of coal," while our coal fields and cotton fields often present a sickening picture of degraded humanity. The remedy lies in the restoration of property to its proper function, and in the restoration of religion.

Mr. Agar does not mention religion explicitly, in deference no doubt to his hopelessly narrow, earth-bound public. This is no reflection on Mr. Agar, who after all like a good physician must not frighten his patient. At any

rate, if political health depends upon economic justice, a sound economic order depends no less upon the moral standards we have all but lost. Democracy, we read, "means immense sacrifice, immense self-discipline on the part of society. It means a noble moral and economic code; it means no compromise with the forces that make for plutocracy." A return to freedom under God is the only way of escape from slavery.

Mr. Agar opens with a strong indictment of "the Poverty of Rich Nations." He calls his witnesses from Denmark, Norway and Sweden, where extremes in the economic order do not disgrace the Capitalist system. He calls John Adams from the days when we were not so rich nor so socially unbalanced as England. The ugly question arises: Do we have to crush the weak to build the top-heavy empire of trade? This has been done. Must it continue? And if so, is our political set-up worth saving? "If democracy cannot curb the abuses of the property system," writes Mr. Agar, "the system will kill democracy." America is still willing to try democracy, though there is much discouragement, and few realize that the vote is a poor compensation for the loss of human dignity in our under-fed, ill-clothed lower third. "A selfish and greedy people cannot be free." Certainly, the victims of selfishness and greed are not likely to act like free men. And without religion and morality we shall continue to have selfishness and greed, and their victims.

"Political Philosophies"

The history of political thought should find a place in every college curriculum. The subject has an intrinsic interest. It should help toward a better understanding of the wild experiments of the present. But those who still believe in the steady upward, onward movement of humanity will discover little to feed their optimism in the long string of political philosophies from "Incomparable Athens" down (We mean: down) to our totalitarian and proletarian states. From the clear, fresh thinking of the pagan Greeks to the substitution of an unthinking roar for reasonable calm the descent can scarcely be called progress. It is all, however, very human. It reveals the frailty of philosophers, if not the futility of philosophy. The story of political philosophies is largely the story of political fallacies.

Professor Maxey, whose very readable book* we are reviewing, concludes his nearly seven hundred pages with a program for political thinkers today. "It is their high calling," he writes, "to work toward the creation of a more integrated, more objective, and more transcendent political philosophy which will speak a clearer language and will guide the world to higher levels of political understanding and achievement." We admire the hardihood of his faith (or hope or blindness!). On the preceding page, speaking still as an historian, he tells us: "Political philosophy is not one but many. There is no single, unified, and self-consistent system of political philosophy, but a legion of philosophical cults... Unanimity of political thought is not to be expected or desired." And this sad admission fits in with the general character of

Political Philosophies, by Chester C. Maxey. Macmillan. New York. 1938. pp. xiii & 692. \$4.00.

(Turn to page thirty-eight)

The Italian Renaissance

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FLORENCE has been the nurse of genius. No other community in modern times has given to the world and to culture so flaming a galaxy of men of highest achievement in the arts and the sciences. Florence is surpassed only by Athens of ancient fame; but in the modern age Florence stands alone and supreme. When we add what other cities of Italy gave to Renaissance culture we have a gathering of lights equal in splendor to the star-cluster in Hercules. There are near the beginning, during the *trecento*, Giotto in painting, and Ghiberti in sculpture, and Arnolfo de Cambio in architecture. In letters beginning with Dante (1265-1321) and Petrarch (1304-1374), along through Poliziano and Lorenzo Valla and Pico della Mirandola to Tasso and Baldassare Castiglione, we find the great leaders in modern letters and criticism. We have "the April freshness of Giotto, the piety of Fra Angelico, the virginal purity of the young Raphael, the sweet gravity of John Bellini, the philosophic depth of Da Vinci, the sublime elevation of Michael Angelo, the suavity of Fra Bartolomeo, the delicacy of Della Robbia, the restrained fervor of Rosellini, . . . Francia's pathos, Mantega's dignity and Luini's divine simplicity."¹

The center of gravity in the course of the fourteen hundreds shifted from Florence to Rome owing to the powerful patronage of the popes, who became the greatest patrons of art of all time. If we see today the refinement and delicacy of Raphael in the loggias of the Vatican palace, and the towering strength of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, it is because Julius II, and Leo X, and Paul III made such beauty possible by their generosity to genius. We would not have Michael Angelo's gigantic Moses were it not for Julius II (1503-1513); nor Pinturicchio's loveliness as seen in the cathedral library in Siena were it not for Julius III (1550-1555). The greatest reservoir of ancient lore, the Vatican Library, was begun by the Renaissance Pope, Nicholas V, (1447-1455) of whom Macaulay said: "No department of literature owes so much to him as history." Nicholas V had been a humanist before he became pope; Pius II (1458-1464) wrote both before and during his pontificate. The latter is the only pontiff who has left us an autobiography, while his *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*, a description of strange lands and peoples, which was read and annotated by Columbus, encouraged the discovery of America.

But in literature there is an ugly side to the Italian Renaissance. The men of letters, the humanists, subject to the fascination of ancient pagan classic culture, underwent the influence of a pagan age not only in the art of writing, but also in philosophy and morals. Through many of these Italian humanists a paganizing element was introduced into Italy which in certain cultured circles acted as a dissolvent upon the Christian spirit and ideals. Boccaccio (1313-1375) in his *Decameron* set an example of obscene story telling which continued with deterioration through two centuries; Tiraboschi, the great critic in

the field of Italian literature, says of the scurrilous controversy between Filelfo and Poggio Bracciolini that we have here perhaps "the most infamous libels that have ever seen the light of day." Bracciolini, an ecclesiastical secretary at the council of Constance in 1415, admired the courage of John Huss at the stake, for "he stood undaunted and intrepid, not merely contemning, but like another Cato, longing for death."² Olgiati, who partook in the assassination of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, glories in his own death, for it resembled that of the Romans of old: "As for the noble action for which I am about to die, it is this which gives my conscience peace. . . . Death is bitter, but fame is sempiternal!" Beccadelli's *Hermaphrodite* touched the nadir of pagan baseness, while in Pietro Aretino (1492-1557), a disgustingly decadent type reveals the decadence of an age.

It is true that Italian humanism produced many upright and excellent, sometimes even saintly men, during the fourteen and fifteen hundreds; men like the educator of Mantua, Vittorino da Feltre, or like Ficino, the friend of Savonarola, or like the Carmelite, Baptista Spagnoli (1447-1516), beatified by the Church, and known as Blessed Baptista Mantuanus. But as the decadent period of the later Middle Ages wore on, such men became less numerous, while the paganizing elements, with their *novelle*, *capitoli*, *facezie* and *novellini* carried the day more and more until it seemed as if the evil were about to crowd out entirely the good.

Now the intriguing thing about this whole movement in letters is that many of these men, who not unfrequently wrote after the pagan fashion, who often lived pagan lives, and who were often anticlerical, though heresy to them was always unintelligible and repugnant, were honored and courted and employed, not only by kings and princes (which excites little surprise), but by bishops and cardinals and popes. Petrarch, almost an exact contemporary with the papal residence at Avignon (1307-1377), was patronized and honored by these French popes, with whom he remained on the most friendly terms. John XXII conferred upon him minor orders and Benedict XII gave him a canonry. Petrarch was a man of whom Italy could be proud. When Emperor Charles IV came to Italy in 1355 he crowned with a laurel wreath at Pisa the Florentine scholar Zanobi della Strada. So Beccadelli was crowned by Emperor Sigismund, and Filelfo by Alphonso of Naples. When Pomponius Laetus died at Rome forty bishops gathered to do the humanist honor, together with the foreign ambassadors and the representatives of Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503). Poggio was for decades a papal secretary, and Pope Nicholas V perused and admired the disreputable satires of Filelfo.

We reach a climax in the case of the disgusting Aretino who received gifts from Francis I of France, from Henry VIII of England, and from Emperor Charles V. Titian painted his portrait out of sheer admiration of the man, while Pope Pius III knighted him and granted him a

¹ John Addington Symonds: *The Renaissance in Italy*, I, 488, London, 1875.

² William Shepherd: *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, Liverpool, 1837.

pension. It was rumored he was to be made a cardinal that his talents might be engrossed for the service of the Church. Yet all the while it was well known that both in his writings and in his life this man represented the most shameful vices of these decadent times. In art and sculpture form and matter were well blent; but in literature it was the apotheosis of form and the prostitution of matter and content.

Now the papacy in all of this patronage of the Renaissance has laid itself open to both criticism and praise. Certainly the popes in their encouragement and patronage of art—painting, sculpture, and architecture—helped grandly to enrich the world with forms of enduring beauty which the human spirit still cherishes and will never forget, and great St. Peter's in Rome is an immortal witness to their munificent culture. But the extravagance with which much of this was done, and the material splendor and worldliness in the midst of which it took place and with which it was closely bound helped to produce that "secularization" of the papacy of which the more moderate and trustworthy historians speak.³ The reign of Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) began a period of serious decline. As for much of the literature of the Renaissance, what scandalizes our own age did not scandalize the age of the Renaissance, at least in Italy: namely, that the popes and churchmen in general were so tolerant of, not to say indulgent to polished expression of ideas that were too often vulgar and obscene.

Certain Italians were frank enough to admit their defects. Lilius Gyraldum, professor at Ferrara, writing to Gian Francesco Pico, says of humanists: "No class of human beings are more subject to anger, more puffed with vanity, more arrogant, more insolent, more proud, conceited, idle-minded, inconsequent, opinionated, changeable, obstinate. . . ."⁴ The keen Machiavelli, himself a destroyer of moral restraint, wrote in the first of his *Discorsi*: "It is but too true that we Italians are in a special degree irreligious and corrupt," and the reason he gives is "because the Church and her representatives have set us the worst example."⁵

After the Protestant Revolt broke out, and while it was spreading, the harm done became greater. With the men of the north, always different from the Latins, the abuses and corruptions in Italy offered a strong weapon to Protestants which they were not slow to use. The pious and orthodox German humanist, Jacob Wimpheling, who died in 1528, wrote in his treatise on literature: "I know not by what fatality certain most learned Italians are taken up rather with stories than with history; with affairs and ceremonies of the gentiles rather than of Christians; . . . with impurity and shamefulfulness rather than with holiness and charity." The English Protestant and tutor of Queen Elizabeth, Roger Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster*, averred after a visit to Italy that he saw there in nine days "more liberty to sin than ever I heard tell of in our noble city of London in nine years." While Robert Greene said that during his travels in the south he "saw and practiced such villanies as it is abominable to declare." It was precisely during the period that

Ascham was tutoring the youthful Elizabeth that the licentious tales of the Italian humanist Bandello "were supplying the enemies of Rome with a full brief." This writer who had been at the refined court of Mantua, whose uncle was General of the Dominicans, and who was given the title to the Bishopric of Agen in France, defended the obscene content of his stories on grounds of realism in literature.⁶

Thus seemingly such types of humanists saw nothing incongruous in their writings. Besides licentiousness, a good deal of seeming piety flowed from the pen of Aretino: lives of Christ and of the Blessed Virgin; biographies of Saint Thomas Aquinas and of Saint Catherine of Siena; commentaries on the Penitential Psalms and on *Genesis*. Most of these ran through several editions. The *Divino* Aretino saw nothing incongruous in linking together sonnets and his pornographic *Ragionamenti* with his Life of Christ in a common dedicatory preface. Thus Bandello introduces his *Novella XXXV* of the first series, which is a licentious tale, with ethical reflections. The humanist Il Lasca prefaces one of his immoral stories with a prayer. It will help to understand the spirit of an age when we reflect that the refined and high-born French lady, Marguerite d'Angoulême (1492-1549), sister of Francis I and Queen of Navarre, in imitation of Boccaccio wrote her *Heptameron*, a collection of stories in which she descended to the level of her prototype. How difficult it was and is for northern Europeans to understand the full psychology of such frankness may be gathered from the introductions to the modern English translations of these works. R. L. Douglas re-editing Fenton's *Tragical Discourses* of Bandello, works hard to make nineteenth century Englishmen understand an Italian's literary psychology of the *Cinquecento*. Samuel Putnam does the same in his recent edition of Pietro Aretino, whom he calls the "Poison-flower of the Renaissance," and so does Walter R. Kelly in his edition of the Queen of Navarre's *Heptameron*.⁷

It would be difficult, interesting and lengthy to attempt to analyse this age of the Renaissance, which was the most rich and complex of the human spirit in Italy. Two remarks may be made here. The key to a great deal of understanding may be found in the psychological differences between the so-called Latin races and northern Europeans of Teutonic origin. Then, so brief a study as these paragraphs present makes it clear how the Renaissance corruptions of Italy and the papacy acted as a contributing cause to that great rebellion against the spiritual power, which we call the Reformation or the Protestant Revolt. If each age, as each human, has its "definite fund of impulses, fears, dreams, ideas, idiosyncracies, passions, errors and virtues", certainly this of the Renaissance presents us with an individuality that is rich and bewildering. It makes for intelligence and tolerance to try to understand an age such as this. It is like seeing a new country; it is like meeting a fresh and intriguing personality.

⁶ Symonds, I, 472f.

⁷ Cf. *Certain Tragical Discourses of Bandello translated into English* by Geffraie Fenton, anno 1567, with an introduction by Robert Langton Douglas, 2 volumes. London, 1898; Samuel Putnam: *Pietro Aretino, Poison-Flower of the Renaissance*, 2 v. Chicago, 1926; *The Heptameron of Margaret, Queen of Navarre*, translated by Walter K. Kelly, London, no date.

³ Cf. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 33. "Sixtus IV."

⁴ Symonds, II, 518.

⁵ L. E. Opdycke: *The Book of the Courtier* by Baldassare Castiglione, p. 357, n. 151, New York, 1929.

Research in History

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[EDITOR'S NOTE: Aside from his numerous other writings, Father Garraghan's monumental work on the Jesuits is the best present proof that he writes with authority on the technique of historical research. He has a book on this topic ready for the press.]

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a) *The initial step in historical research is choice of a topic.* Sometimes there may be no question of choice at all. In the case of students the topic may be assigned by a professor or some one else in authority, or circumstances may make a particular selection expedient or necessary. When the investigator is really free to choose his topic of research, various factors will have to be reckoned with in making a suitable selection. Among these are the amount of space, as also the nature and amount of source-material available for treatment; it would be folly to attempt to treat certain subjects within the limits of a five-thousand word paper.

Broad, comprehensive subjects are, as a rule, to be avoided, at least by the average student, chiefly for the reason that it is impracticable for him to treat them with due thoroughness within the limits of space and time at his disposal, not to speak of his presumed lack of equipment and general fitness for such major tasks. "Learn to be definite at all costs," Sir Charles Oman warns the beginner; "be limited, if it is necessary, stick to a single century or to a single reign, but write something—knowledge not committed to paper is lost." A deal of cheap wit has been expended on the practice of setting graduate students to work on what look like ridiculously trivial and inconsequential minutiae of research. No doubt the practice of assigning topics of narrow scope for investigation can be and sometimes is carried too far; but behind it is the sound principle that the narrower the field of research, the more intensive and thoroughgoing and therefore more successful the pursuit of it is likely to be. Moreover, training in method can come as well, sometimes better, through handling of a narrow topic rather than a broad one.

b) *A topic having been chosen, look up its bibliography if such there be.* Research, if it is to be fresh and thereby justify itself, ought to start, at least in a general way, where previous research has left off. Find out therefore the present status of scholarly investigation on the subject in hand. This can be ascertained from reliable up-to-date bibliographical surveys, such as are sometimes to be found in the more scholarly type of history books now appearing, and from standard bibliographies, general or special, especially commented ones, supplemented by notices of new publications in the current historical reviews.

Graduate students have their professors and directors to consult in the matter while investigators not working under direction will find it helpful, sometimes perhaps necessary, to seek information from experts in the same field as their own. The main thing is to have in one's possession the findings of previous investigation on the subject dealt with; otherwise one may lose valuable

time and labor in threshing out old straw, in going over ground already traversed by others who, it may be, have practically exhausted its possibilities. An investigator sometimes takes up a topic under the impression that it is something new, works on it for a considerable spell, perhaps even completes his monograph, only to find out that some one else has anticipated him in treatment of the same topic and, it may be, on the basis of the same source-material. But such a *contretemps* will scarcely occur in the case of a graduate student of history working on a subject previously approved by his director.

As an aid to the avoidance of useless duplication of research tasks at least two lists of theses in course of preparation by graduate students of history are now issued periodically, one by the Carnegie Institute, Washington, the other by the University of Toronto. The London Institute of Historical Research, University of London, publishes regularly in its bulletin helpful summaries of graduate theses in history issuing from the British universities. The graduate thesis, to use a conventional description, is meant to be a "contribution to the sum of human knowledge." But it must be noted that there is a tendency in American graduate schools to allow students to work in their dissertations on previously treated subjects and even without the support of fresh material, but with the proviso that the old material be submitted to some new and significant organization or interpretation, that the approach to the subject be new. The new organization, the reinterpretation of the old material, on the assumption that it is really significant, is understood to be in its way "a contribution to the sum of human knowledge."

c) *Before definite choice of a subject is made, try to ascertain whether enough material is available to make satisfactory treatment possible.* One can begin research on a subject only to find out that the material needed to develop it properly is either non-existent or, if existent, is not accessible. If little time or labor has been spent in the research, no great loss may have to be deplored; but getting into a blind alley of this sort may sometimes prove a costly mistake. Bibliographies, guides to manuscript material in libraries and archives, consultations with experts in the field and other means of information must here be put to account.

d) *Definite choice of a subject being made, try to master enough of its historical background to make research intelligent.* This means becoming familiar from reliable secondary accounts with the larger historical whole of which the topic to be worked out may be only a very small part. It would be folly to start gathering material for a study of a thirteenth-century Yorkshire manor if one had no adequate idea of the manorial system as a whole, or was ignorant of general political and social conditions in the English contemporary scene. Documents and other material with important bearing on a topic of research may be passed over lightly or neglected altogether simply because the researcher does not know

enough of the setting of his topic to see their implications and interpret them aright.

e) *Sketch out under heads and sub-heads the treatment one expects to give the topic, the plan of development to be followed.* Two things are to be noted about such a plan. (1) It is indispensable as a guide to reading, note-taking, and research in general on the topic treated. (2) In its first draught it is always almost necessarily tentative and subject to revision as the investigation opens new vistas and reveals, it may be, new and unsuspected source-material, or possibly, the absence of certain source-material one expected to find. Some such elastic, readily convertible plan must therefore be in the student's mind's eye as he goes forward in his work of research. Lacking it, he may flounder about amid books and documents, mispending valuable time and energy by taking notes or reading matter which he later finds to be useless for his purpose.

The plan should be written out to insure definiteness as far as this is possible in the beginning; further, its main points, at least, should be perfectly familiar to the student so that he can recall them easily without having to recur to a memorandum. Very possibly a plan such as is here in question cannot be framed in the earlier stages of research. One has generally to get some distance into a subject by reading and study and so acquire some familiarity with it before any outline of treatment, however tentative, will suggest itself. But the formulation of a plan must not be delayed too long. To repeat, a plan in some or other shape, is an indispensable aid to insure definiteness of aim, economy of time and labor, satisfactory research, and, in the end, a worthwhile piece of history writing.

f) *The question of plan implies more or less the question of scale.* Sometimes this is a matter the writer has not to bother about. It is fixed for him. A limit of so many thousand words may be set and to this limit, imposed by professor or editor or publisher, he must conform. But even within these imposed limits for the production as a whole, there is the question, how much space should be given to the individual parts or divisions that fill out the plan. *This is a problem the writer himself must solve.* Considerations of relative importance, artistic effect, available data, will be among those that determine the solution. At all events, this question of proportion in developing the integral members of the plan should be disposed of satisfactorily before the actual work of composition is taken up. In cases where the space limits of the article, dissertation, or book are not imposed but are left to the writer's choice, the question of scale should be faced early in the research and not left to subsequent accident or caprice. But it is understood that, as is true of the plan of treatment, determination of scale is not a thing that can always be effected satisfactorily at the outset. As research or composition proceeds, an adopted scale may have to be modified, either in absolute magnitude or in the proportionate treatment of individual topics.

g) *Work first on primary material, then on secondary.* In actual research primary and secondary sources will generally be found, not sorted out neatly in distinct groups but mingled together; in note-taking, for example,

the student must utilize the sources in the order in which they come. The important direction just given concerns, not the usual steps in heuristic but the later step of critical study of a subject based upon the material assembled. Careful, thorough-going study of the subject requires that one go back to the original sources, and be not satisfied to take things merely at second or third hand. Fonck (*Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten*) calls this recourse to original, first-hand material, the "chief, fundamental rule of all scientific work." Most of the perverted history of the past owes its origin to the unscholarly passing on of statements or interpretations from one secondary authority to another. Even where secondary treatments of a topic are of the scholarly type, it is best to defer the reading of them until one has carefully sifted the primary material and reached conclusions of one's own based on its evidence. At the same time, scholarly up-to-date articles, monographs, books, may bear with more or less directness on one's topic of research; it is a matter of importance to the investigator to acquaint himself with their findings. Gaps in his own work may be filled in, statements corrected, interpretations modified. It will be reassuring to find himself in agreement with other scholars just as it may be, but not necessarily so, disconcerting to find himself at odds with them, a situation which may entail a revision of the manuscript.

Fonck calls attention repeatedly to a danger to which beginners in research are exposed. They may easily allow their interpretation of primary sources to be influenced by what they have read in secondary ones. This is not the way to attain to the habit of independent thinking so vital to the historian. The danger mentioned may be a real one not only for beginners, but even for proficient in research. The authority just quoted insists strongly that reading of the scholarly special and monographic literature of one's subject should follow, not precede, reading of the primary material. Lingard said ap-
positely in the preface to his *History of England*:

To render these volumes more deserving of public approbation I did not hesitate, at the commencement of my labors, to impose on myself a severe obligation from which I am not conscious of having on any occasion materially swerved; to take nothing upon trust; to confine my researches, in the first instance, to original documents and the more ancient writers, and only to consult the modern historians when I had satisfied my own judgment and composed my own narrative. My object was to preserve myself from copying the mistakes of others, to keep my mind unbiased by their opinions and prejudices, and to present to the reader from authentic sources a full and correct relation of events.

h) *Adequate exploitation of sources often requires incursions into special fields of knowledge.* Not only must the historian summon to his aid on occasion the auxiliary sciences, as diplomatics, paleography, archeology, and others, if the topics treated require their use; almost any field of knowledge may serve his purpose by helping to the elucidation of a text. Certain documents cannot be fully understood without some, in many cases considerable, acquaintance with the principles of economics or psychology or theology. Any complete study of the miracles of Christ presupposes some knowledge of medical science. The phenomenon of nationalism is in many ways a problem in group-psychology; so also are revolutions, riots, popular movements of any kind. John Baptist Rossi, the "Father of Christian archeology," sat for years on the benches learning theology because he felt that this science

was indispensable for the proper interpretation of the inscriptions and other monuments of Christian antiquity. In a sense the true historical searcher is prepared to annex the whole domain of human knowledge to his own province. If the Roman dramatist broke down all barriers to his range of interest in the world about him by

his "*nihil humani a me alienum puto*," the historian is by the same token committed to a like catholicity of outlook. All and sundry data furnished him by existing fields of knowledge, even the most disparate, if they help him to understand his documents, to interpret them aright, are grist for his mill.

More Catholic History

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Excellent pedagogical advice has, at times, been given by teachers incapable of applying their own principles. This article, considerably shortened, comes from a source (We hope there are many such) where student enthusiasm and achievement indicate that Catholic history is being efficiently taught.

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CATHOLICISM is essentially historical. We hope in the future; and our debt to the historians who have preserved and interpreted the records of the Faith is extremely heavy. Modern Catholic historians have grappled with the problem confronting them in a very able way. John Lingard and Cardinal Gasquet, and their followers have done much to dispel the unfairness of the past. An awakened interest in the work that has been accomplished by the Church is apparent during recent years. We can do no more than recall a few writers whose volumes will be of great assistance in furthering the movement toward more Catholic history. There is that great Benedictine force, among whom are Dom Bede Camm, Dom Henry Birt, Dom J. H. Chapman; there are the Jesuits, Thomas A. Hughes, Gilbert J. Garraghan, and a dozen others; there are Herbert E. Bolton, who has done so much to unearth the Catholic History of the Southwest, Canon William Barry, John Gilmary Shea and Msgr. Peter Guilday, whose voluminous monographs are the creation of a refined and diligent scholarship. The two volumes of Carlton J. Hayes have merited attention for their impartiality. Ralph Adams Cram, though an Anglican, has shown us the importance of Christian tradition in such works as *The Substance of Gothic Art* and a series of similar studies.

A true knowledge of the work of the Church in connection with the history of a country is frequently received with surprise by many, because a just chronicling of this work has been noticeably missing. A brief examination of the textbooks in use today, but more especially of those of earlier days, will attest this fact. To illustrate, we find that many books make note of the fact that nearly five centuries before the discovery of America by Columbus Norsemen are supposed to have visited this country and to have given it the name of "*Vinland the Good*," yet mention is seldom made of the fact that the country was most likely visited by Norse missionaries, who came to bring the Faith to the savages and thus to begin Christian civilization in this same land. Though historians decide to treat the story of the Norse visitation as an old romantic legend, yet even as a legend it is inseparable from the Church.

United States History is rich in Catholic story, first, because of the splendid achievements that have marked the religious life of America from the very outset; secondly, because of the speed with which the action has moved all along the lines of her marvelous progress; and thirdly, because of the high nobility of character that has, in almost every case, distinguished her prominent men and women; and finally, because the stories of American History are true stories.

The teaching of U. S. history in our Catholic Schools should, it seems to me, have three special aims. The first aim should be to encourage in every student the desire to read the best historians, and thus to appreciate the part played by Catholics from the days of Columbus to the present time. Here much depends upon the teacher and his method of presentation.

The second aim is to link history with the nation's ideals. The Catholic School must not lose sight of the purpose of the Church in imparting education not only in subjects essentially religious, but secular as well. Patriotism is a natural virtue, and it should be one of the teacher's aims when preparing the daily history lesson plan. He should cultivate patriotism because it is commanded by God. Patriotism often suffers at the hands of the teacher of history. Youth should be taught to love their own country above all others, but not to hate any other country. American history, if taught with earnestness and enthusiasm will help the student to appreciate the courage with which the early settlers faced the hardships of their day. It will fire him with a desire to do as they did. From the sufferings of those who have gone before, he will learn how to suffer, and from the knowledge of their heroic deeds he will be inspired to act nobly.

The third aim is to show by the study of each successive period how the nation developed. The teacher should introduce a brief accurate summary of events and social conditions of each period and a consideration of the ideals which stirred the nation, not overlooking the noble work and sacrifices of Catholic men and women. The teacher of history should show that society, with all its institutions, is a growth, not a sudden creation.

Biography fills a large place in the history of any nation, and may we not say especially of the United States? Our History is rich in biography, not only because of the splendid qualities that have generally distinguished America's great men and women, but because of the great work accomplished by a few leading men and women.

All of us are grown-up children. We are constantly imagining ourselves as others. A trick of the imagina-

tion, to be sure, but the habit is universal. The boy sees himself a policeman, a Washington, or some other figure that has caught his fancy. The girl secretly plays at being a fine lady, a nun, or a famous movie actress. It makes a great deal of difference for the individual and for the nation where our boys and girls travel when they jerk on their "seven league boots." The youth who sees himself in De Smet, Schoenmaker, Damien, Pro, Tabb, Ryan, Stanton, or even in "Eddie the Drummer Boy" is getting ready to do his country a real service; and the girl who thinks with a soul of fire of what she would do in the great crises that have proved the nobility of womanhood through the centuries is growing fiber for humanity for the years that are to come. It takes time for the teacher to meet those great-souled men and women who have played an especial part in history, and still more time to introduce his young audience to them, but it is very much worthwhile. He must, therefore, study more widely. There is no field that calls for more and better training, more leisure for the pursuit of knowledge concerning the great characters of the world. The teacher of history is in a position very different from that of the teacher of Latin, mathematics or any other subject. The subject matter of his instruction is difficult, and it is constantly changing because of the light that is being thrown upon it constantly by the research workers. His task is not an easy one, but the reward will be "the thrill that comes once in a lifetime" when, for the first time, he sees the eyes of a grade school child, high school or even college student, brighten at the thing that were nobly done, and at the knowledge that what man has done man can do.

There can be no Mason and Dixon lines in history, no political or geographical divisions in the national conscience. Any history which tends, as Lowell has said, "to make you and me strangers to each other, or to any other part of our common country, can hardly be considered a part of true Americanism." Bellarmine, Suarez, and others may be given credit for furnishing us with concepts of democracy and liberty upon which we pride ourselves. After comparing the opening sentences of the Declaration of Independence with Cardinal Bellarmine's doctrine we can fairly assert that this Jesuit Cardinal anticipated the author of the Declaration of Independence. Archbishop Hughes has said, "Neither the first page, nor the last page, nor the middle page of our history would have any place without them."

Of the Catholic Church the late Ruben Gold Thwaites has written:¹

In comparison with the religious of their time in other lands, the priests and missionaries of New France will not suffer in the examination either intellectually or spiritually. Indeed, the fascinating history of their remarkable and widespread Indian missions, particularly those of the Jesuits—although much might be said of the less strenuous Recollects, Sulpicians, and Capuchins—furnish [*sic*] some of the most brilliant examples on record of self-sacrificing and heroic devotion to an exalted cause. . . . American History would lose much of its welcome color were there blotted from its pages the picturesque and thrilling story of the curés and friars of Canada in the French Regime.

Our pioneers believed in and trusted a Supreme Being. Columbus on his knees on Guanahani, the Jesuit Fathers at St. Mary's, Maryland, the Franciscans on the Pacific Coast, Machebeuf and Lamy making their rounds in

New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado show us a belief in God and His Providence. What a background for the study of character and devotion to God and country is found in the men and women who wore the religious garb and aided in the upbuilding of the nation! Teach the youth of our nation such names as Serra, Catalá, Marquette, Loras, Sorin, Badin, Jogues, Timon, De Smet, Ponziglione, Nerinckx, Gibault, Mother Guérin, Mary Rhodes, Mére Marie of the Ursulines, Mother Seton, Mother Drexel, Mother Duchesne, and a galaxy of others whose work and delightful personalities can be merely mentioned here. It will be well for us to include here the names of the laymen: Carroll of Carrollton, Barry, Morris, Dongan, Champlain, Maisonneuve, Laclède, Bienville, La Salle, and Calvert. Teach the youth also that our Republic was formed by those whose faith and trust in God were very deep. From the very dawn of the discovery of this country Catholic men and women have given their lives that the Faith might live in these lands and that Christian civilization might be established here for all people and for all generations. The growth of the Catholic Church in America from the days of John Carroll to the last Eucharistic Congress is almost phenomenal, and yet how seldom is the Church given her place in the sun of American History!

We eagerly expound the history of our country and inculcate respect for her laws in such a way as to arouse in our students a high sense of responsibility as citizens of the future. We inspire patriotism by dwelling at length on characters like Washington, Lincoln and others, but the part played by Catholics in history we too often minimize. In many instances and in many places the Faith may seem to have died, yet for the most part the roots remained to spring into a newer growth later. Every Catholic student should know that in the American Revolution the Catholic minority put their wealth and wisdom and their lives at the service of the Colonies, that Catholics like Phil Sheridan and Rosecrans helped to preserve the Republic in the Civil War, that the first soldier to fall in our invasion of Mexico at Vera Cruz was General Hagerty, a parochial school graduate, that Lieutenant Fitzsimmons, the first American officer to die in the World War, was a Catholic; that General Foch attributed his victories to the First Holy Communion prayers of little children. The records of Catholics in the World War will inspire our students with a love for their country and a pride in the Catholic Faith which these heroes possessed.

To the Church's missionaries and also to her laity are due many of the important discoveries and explorations made in our country, together with maps and valuable records. In many instances these very records have been the principal, if not the only source from which scholars and historians have gathered authentic information concerning early America. How valuable to historians have been *The Jesuit Relations*! For in addition to accounts of missionary work, *The Relations* contain also scholarly and full accounts of the Indian tribes and of the country itself as the Jesuits found it.

Difficult as it is to teach history to the youth of today, nothing will give these precious charges a quicker understanding, a better or clearer idea of the living past, a more

¹ *France in America*, p. 137.

vivid sense of the part played by Catholics than real historical portraits of the men and women after God's own heart, who were very much children of their age, though by the aid of divine grace they rose above their times. Once a youth is able to view them through the eyes of faith and fact he will feel the power and influence of such unforgettable personalities. Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J., in an article "Fields for Catholic Historical Research" has said, "Poetry, oratory, architecture, even missionary work are avocations. The spirit of Christ created men so replete with heavenly goodness that they went

forth into the night of the lands of vice and ignorance to struggle, and die in the divine combat. To describe these individuals as anything else than men seems to leave history without the full stature of Christian manhood." Try describing such characters to your class. As long as you stick to your subject the class will be aroused to a grasp of the man and what he has done for posterity. A class will find in this method the spirit of the Faith, the delight of Duty, the very thrill and adventure of Catholicism. Quietly but steadfastly they will follow, and they will stay with you all the way.

Catholic Giant of the Northwest

(Continued from page twenty-four)

appeal to it, saying: "When the Hudson's Bay Company first began to trade with these Indians they were so hostile to the whites that they had to mount guard day and night at the establishment, have sentinels at the gates to prevent any Indian entering, unless to trade, and when they entered, to take their arms from them. The Columbia could not be traveled in parties of less than sixty well armed men; but by the management of the Company, they were brought to that friendly disposition that two men, for several years back, can travel in safety between this and Fort Hall."

What made McLoughlin's task of governing more difficult, was the fact that, by agreement between the United States and Great Britain, the Oregon country was open to trade and settlement by the citizens of both powers. It required consummate prudence on the part of the Chief Factor of an English concern to look to the financial advancement of his Company's interest, and at the same time not to prejudice in any way the rights of American rivals in the same country in such wise as might involve the two countries in political dispute.

For the first ten years of McLoughlin's rule there was but little American immigration, and so the problem was not acute. Whenever Americans did visit Fort Vancouver, even though rivals in the fur trade, they uniformly met with an extremely hospitable reception from the Chief Factor. When a group of American traders under Jedediah Smith were ambushed by Umpqua Indians on the morning of July 14, 1828, and all but three or four of the eighteen men in the party were killed, a few of the survivors managed to straggle into Fort Vancouver in a desperate plight. "Dr. John McLoughlin, the chief factor of the company," says Ghent in his *Early Far West*, "at once dispatched an expedition to the scene of the massacre. The furs, a number of horses and some of the belongings of the men were recovered, and the furs were purchased by the company for a sum in excess of \$20,000." This was indeed kindness and hospitality dispensed in the generous, warm-hearted manner that was characteristic of the *Catholic Giant of the Northwest*. Another competitor in trade, Nathaniel Wyeth, founder of Fort Hall, met with similar kindness from McLoughlin, when his supply ship had been overtaken by adversity.

Though a Catholic, the Chief Factor went out of his way to aid the missionaries of every denomination. Reverend Jason Lee, Methodist missionary, was the first to arrive at Fort Vancouver, in September 1834; the Pres-

byterians, Reverends Samuel Parker, Marcus Whitman (around whose name more than a little hoary legend has accumulated) and Henry Spalding, in 1835 and 1836; the Catholic Father (later Archbishop) Francis Blanchet arrived from Canada in 1838, to be joined by the Jesuit Peter J. De Smet from St. Louis several years later. During the early years of all the missions, McLoughlin was their chief support. Indeed it is doubtful if any of them could have survived without his active cooperation and support. To all of them he extended a sincere welcome, food, shelter, supplies, and generous financial gifts out of his personal funds. The Company's boats and other facilities for transportation were put at their disposal. An entire book could be dedicated to this exalted aspect of McLoughlin's career in the northwest. The ingratitude, calumny, and robbery which this great-souled Catholic met with in return, from some of the Protestant missionaries, chagrined at Catholic missionary success and enmeshed in plans for their own temporal gain, form a chapter in missionary history which can only be accurately described by some such title as "The Great American Tragedy," or "Ingratitude Personified."

V.

Each year after 1840 American immigration into the Oregon territory increased by leaps and bounds. Literally hundreds upon hundreds of these American homeseekers arrived at Fort Vancouver, after their long trek across the "Great American Desert," in a pitiable condition. In rags, bereft of supplies, physically exhausted and frequently near the point of death, these Oregon pioneers made their stumbling way into Fort Vancouver. McLoughlin, in the name of what he called the dictates of "religion and humanity" received them with unbelievable tenderness, nursed them back to health, furnished them (at his personal expense) supplies and everything that they needed to start a home, asking them to repay only when they were on their feet and able. Scores of those whom he benefitted with a largess worthy of a Biblical patriarch, never repaid him a cent. In the course of time, his Christian benevolence to destitute American immigrants reached such proportions that he was reported to England as furthering a policy that would eventually fill the country with Americans and loose the territory to the British Government. As a consequence, in 1845 McLoughlin was absolutely forbidden to assist needy immigrants. Forced to choose between the dictates of his

Catholic conscience and his salary of \$12,000 a year, he replied simply to the Governor of the Company, "Gentlemen, if such is your order, I will serve you no longer." And with that, the *Catholic Giant* majestically stepped down from his throne!

VI.

Hair white as snow, a life-time of service behind him, McLoughlin was now out on his own to begin life anew at the age of sixty-two. He had suffered the voluntary despoliation of honor, fame, and financial opulence for his inflexible adherence to the norms of his Catholic heart. As a reward for his past Catholicity there came to the knightly McLoughlin in these crucial years of his life, the *Knighthood of Saint Gregory the Great* which the Supreme Pontiff conferred on him in 1846. It came as balm to his wounds, and steel to his heart, to help him face the ordeal of colossal ingratitude and organized bigotry that was still ahead of him.

After his retirement from the service of the Hudson Bay Company, McLoughlin settled in Oregon City. Years before the Americans came to that district he had staked out a land claim there. Declaring his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States in 1849, he carried his resolution into effect in 1851, when the two years required by law had elapsed. However with a malicious bigotry that stands unparalleled in American history, the Methodist Mission party, which had accepted freely of McLoughlin's bounty in former years, organized a campaign to rob him of his land claim. Seconded by the efforts of the Hon. (sic!) S. R. Thurston, Oregon delegate to Congress—in a moment that the noble American Eagle slept on her vigil perch, and the stars of liberty's banner flickered out—success so complete that it must have tickled the toes of Lucifer and set the myrmidons of hell roaring, tarnished still further, if that were possible, the crassness of their criminal designs. Truly, even Protestant bigotry, at least in America, deserved a better fate!

McLoughlin, under the Donation Land Law of 1850, was stripped of title to his property. Many of his friends came to his defense, but it was too late. It was the dénouement of a tragedy that might have been webbed on the loom of Sophocles! The noble McLoughlin felt the blow for what it was—a knife thrust into his back! Represented by Thurston to the United States Congress as a 'Benedict Arnold', a 'cheat', 'Jesuitical', and a 'Judas Iscariot', the benefactor of all Oregon, in turning to answer the charges, almost despaired of human nature:

I am an old man, and my head is very white with the frost of many winters, but I have never before been accused as a cheat. I was born a British subject—I have had for twenty years the superintendence of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade in Oregon and on the North West Coast; and may be said to have been the representative of British interests in this country; but I have never descended to court popularity, by pandering to prejudice, and doing wrong to anyone. I have, on the other hand, afforded every assistance to all who required it, and which religion and humanity dictated; and this community can say if I did so or not . . .

How much this has injured me, is daily injuring me, it is needless to say, and certainly it is a treatment I do not deserve and which I did not expect. To be brief, I founded this settlement and prevented a war between the United States and Great Britain, and for doing this peaceably and quietly, I was treated by the British in such a manner that from self respect I resigned my situation in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, by which I

sacrificed \$12,000 per annum, and the "Oregon Land Bill" shows the treatment I received from the Americans.

If his head was bloody, it was still unbowed. He plunged into manual labor in his grist mill to provide support for his descendants. In a letter to Father De Smet of November 20, 1852, Father Accolti gives us a picture of McLoughlin as he stood on what he called the "slippery brink of the grave": "The old gentleman, Dr. McLoughlin, is always the same with his strong, hearty, vigorous, herculean complexion. . . . From morning till evening he is continually involved in the mist of his grist-mill flour and never appears in public (Sunday excepted) but entirely aspersed with white powder from the head to the feet as an old country-miller."

Gradually, under the strain, his health gave way. He lost weight until he became a gaunt skeleton. "Thus encompassed and overcome, and crucified by robbery, mendacity, and ingratitude, Dr. John McLoughlin died at Oregon City, September 3, 1857, a broken-hearted man." Interment was in the Catholic cemetery adjoining the church.

VII.

After his death truth and justice, which had so long been buried in somnolent hibernation, dug out into the light of day. He was in his grave five years, when, in 1862, the Oregon Legislature restored his land claim to his heirs, and since that time belated honors have been heaped upon him. A giant, snowcapped mountain in southern Oregon has been named Mount McLoughlin, symbolic tribute to the *Catholic Giant*! At the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland in 1905, October 6 was set apart as "McLoughlin Day." His statue has been placed among the country's great in the National Hall of Fame at the Capitol in Washington, D. C. By 1907, when Holman wrote his biography, the praise of McLoughlin had reached the magnitude of a cult. And amusing to the Catholic reader, but indicative of the esteem in which the *Catholic Giant* is held, is Holman's suggestion that the Catholic Church canonize him as a saint! "Dr. McLoughlin died more than forty-nine years ago. Under the canons of the Roman Catholic Church no one can be canonized until he or she has been dead at least fifty years. If I may do so with propriety, I suggest that, when the fifty years have passed, those in proper authority in that Church cause Dr. John McLoughlin to be canonized, if it is possible to do so."

Thus has the mighty verdict of history risen from the tomb to write, in imperishable characters, across the rugged map of northwest America, the everlasting memory of a great hero who was as unfalteringly kind to his fellow-man as he was unfailingly loyal to the God of his Catholic soul!

Our series on "Catholic Lay Leaders" is progressing as originally planned. As the articles accumulate their value to the teacher increases. We hope to be able to supply bibliographical data before the series is complete.

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A questionnaire which was circulated to procure teachers' comments on High School history texts has brought satisfactory returns. These could not, however, be collated in time for this issue. Further comment is solicited.

Gesta Dei per Jesuitas

Joseph P. Donnelly, S. J., M. A.

St. Louis University

I do not know of any event in my time in America that is capable of calling forth from our Catholic people a more sincere and unusual feeling of satisfaction than the opportunity to share in that Te Deum for the hundred years of *Gesta Dei per Jesuitas* in the Mississippi Valley and the West. Bishop Gilfillan of St. Joseph, Missouri (1923).

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In 1540, on the 27th of September, Pope Paul III by the Bull, *regimini militantis ecclesiae*, established a new Religious Order whose purpose was thus set forth:

The end of this Society is not only to attend to the salvation and perfection of our own souls with the divine grace, but with the same earnestly to employ ourselves in procuring the salvation and perfection of our neighbor.

In preparation for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Society of Jesus, Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., has written three magnificent volumes portraying vividly how the sons of that Society have fulfilled her purpose by their heroic work in the *Middle United States*.

American History has, in past years, become interested in movements and trends and influences in American life. Any particularly important movement deserves a history. Here is the history of an influence which grew from a small handful of men and one microscopic center on the banks of the Missouri. Today that movement has for its monument seven universities, five colleges, eleven high schools within whose portals are educated roughly fifty thousand students annually. Its pastoral laborers care for thirty parishes and three large Missions among the Indians in the middle west besides fourteen mission centers in India and seven in Central America. How the Jesuits, laboring for a century, have built up such a vast spiritual edifice for the greater glory of God and the salvation of men's souls has finally been completely told. It is a story of heartaches and disappointments, of sufferings both physical and spiritual, which produced great souls and reaped bountiful harvest for God's Eternal Kingdom.

Father Garraghan's monumental work will have peculiar value for students of the frontier. He gives us new facts and old about that vast stretch of America which in great measure was made America because brave men, who lived an ideal, were willing to sacrifice themselves to bring to savages the civilizing influence of Christianity. Little attention has been paid to the influence which Jesuit missionaries had on our aborigines during the past century. De Smet's work is known and admired by many. But the work of his companions, the slow heartbreaking labor of instructing uncouth savages, of keeping the peace, of warding off the deleterious influence of advancing whites—this is a part of our frontier now told us by a master of his craft. How stupendous an undertaking this one phase of Jesuit activity was becomes more apparent when we recall that with but few recruits these Blackrobes had for their mission the whole sweep of frontier from the mouth of the Columbia to the Gulf of Mexico.

*The *Jesuits in the Middle United States*, by Gilbert J. Garraghan. New York. America Press. 1938. Three volumes. \$15.00.

Yet while the advanced guard was carrying on among the Indians, at home the field of education was itself growing. Schools were needed for the whites. To staff little oases of culture, even with a skeleton force, often required superhuman effort on the part of every man. But somehow it was all accomplished. And little by little, as each nucleus grew, schools became colleges and colleges became universities. Professional schools were opened. Law, Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering, Schools for Graduate Study were opened and staffed with capable men, highly trained for their positions and often internationally known in their fields.

Father Garraghan has devoted a quarter of a century to the completion of his book. During those years he has had opportunity to use the archives of Europe and America. For two years he worked in the Jesuit archives in Rome. London, Paris, Louvain and the German centers have all been open to him, and his expert use of the great mass of new material contained in his three volumes proves him to be *facile princeps* among Catholic Historians of the Middle West. During those years of preparation he has published several books and numerous articles on his chosen field. Obviously, his "magnum opus" is the definitive work on his subject. There is little left to be done, except perhaps to mark out more clearly the byways which, of necessity, Father Garraghan excluded from his book.

Scholarly writing is not always synonymous with true literary style nor again with the master touch in handling one's subject. Grubbing out facts and clearing up lacunae often are linked with inability to present an interesting picture. Here mastery of language aids the scholar's technique. Father Garraghan's story is the tale of the taming of the raw west. All the factors in the narrative have proper perspective. His actors are primarily priests, missionaries, educators, churchmen. Yet their influence on the civic world about them is not forgotten. Their work for the state as well as the Church is interwoven with that nice balance which comes of long and careful writing linked to broad vision.

Younger students of history might well study this work merely to learn a master's technique. To be able to use manuscript material effectively is an art. To make men live through their letters and jottings is by no means simple. Graduate students of history have in this work a text-book in research, written by a teacher and scholar who has kept in touch with men and manners so as to be able to reproduce accurately and entertainingly a vanished era in American History. The Catholic Frontier is captured and preserved for us as it was.

There is much talk among Catholic historians of the need of a really worthy history of the Catholic Church in America. Since Shea, attempts have been made, but none by a competent scholar. It is generally agreed that the great amount of monograph material produced in the past decade (The reader will recall, especially, the work of Msgr. Guilday) has pushed the history of the Catholic Church sufficiently far forward so that the time is ripe

for a synthesis. When the new Shea takes up his labors he will find no simpler task than summarizing the history of the Mississippi and Missouri Valley. Father Garraghan's new book has given him the story of a great portion of the History of the Church in America. The frontier with its conflicting influences, its shifting population, its ever changing character, but for Father Garraghan's work, would have been a trying subject.

After four hundred years, it is a source of great joy that from the pen of Father Garraghan the Jesuits can report so successfully to Paul III, or his successor, that they have indeed fulfilled the end of their Society in Middle America, the salvation and perfection of their own souls and their earnest employment in the salvation and perfection of their neighbor. For indeed, primarily, the author has recorded the *gesta Dei per Jesuitas* in the Mississippi Valley.

Editorial (Continued)

his book. Out of the jumble of truths, half-truths and absurdities which "thinkers" have left behind in bulky volumes one clear conclusion emerges: 'They can't all be right. But we rudely disagree with the author's statement that, "There is no single, unified and self-consistent system of political philosophy." In fact, the author here gives us a pretty good description of Scholasticism, which is, if anything, a "single, unified, self-consistent system." It is, moreover, the answer to his prayer for a "more integrated, more objective, more transcendent political philosophy."

For the author's potential readers the study of "philosophies" is fascinating, and it would never do to concentrate too long on the prosaic common sense of Augustine, Aquinas and a baptized Aristotle. They and their followers wrote voluminously and clearly on sovereignty, authority, right, duty, equality, liberty and other concepts which are all but meaningless in the writings of "thinkers" who are afraid of reason, revelation and God. Professor Maxey does give some space to the great Scholastics, (which would seem to indicate that he accords truth at least equal rights in the battle-royal of errors!), but alongside Rousseau, Locke or Hobbes, St. Thomas plays a minor rôle, and Suarez, Bellarmine and Vitoria do not even figure in the chorus. No wonder the end of the story leaves us with a picture of "Democracy at Bay"! We are not surprised when Mussolini, who pooh-poohs all political theories, makes mince-meat of modern "Democracy." Real democracy deserves a better fate. Its salvation depends on whether it can disown the illusions that have been identified with it. But after all, maybe our insistence on philosophy is out of place in a discussion of a book on "philosophies"! Professor Maxey has succeeded, with a few minor slips, in doing the thing he set out to do.

History should be not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of the soul.—Lord Acton.

Jottings

Spirit and truth make for unity. Matter and materialist pseudo-philosophies must lead to diversity and divergence. From among outstanding commentators on the modern scene we select a witness to medieval unity. William E. Lingelbach ("The New Era in World History," in *The Historical Outlook*, XXI [January, 1930], 7-16) writes: "The most familiar example of this unity is that of the Middle Ages. For centuries together there continued a similarity in the institutions, the philosophy, and the dynamic forces of the civilization of this period. There was one universal church, with its unity of faith, of doctrine, of law, and of polity. The theory of government remained the same for centuries. There was a common language for the learned; Latin was the tongue of all educated persons and of the schools. The medieval universities in whatever country they were located were the same in organization, in the language of instruction, in the types of professors and students. There was uniformity of curriculum, whether one studied at Oxford, Paris, or Bologna. The university man knew no country. He migrated from one to the other with the utmost ease and freedom. He spoke the same language, got the same stuff in his lectures and in the books he read. When he entered upon his profession, whether it was theology, law, or medicine, he carried the Latin with him. Private and state business were recorded in the Latin tongue.

"More important still [!] was the uniformity of the economic and social life of these centuries. Society was the same in every country. There were the nobles, the clergy, artisans, and peasants. . . . Each class had its distinctive dress, its distinctive occupations and rôle in the social and economic order. Privileged and unprivileged were sharply divided from each other.

"Politically, the states of the period were all of one kind, the taxes and the services were the same; justice, law, and order were administered in the same way. The medieval state was the same everywhere, organized on the same pattern and governed the same way, and in Western Europe, at least, there stood above them all the ghost, if not the reality, of the Holy Roman Empire."

Present day makers of history, and their admirers, are fond of the you-can't-make-an-omelette-without-breaking-the-eggs argument. F. J. Sheed (*Communism and Man*) uses the analogy, but not to justify smashing the individual to make a totalitarian state. He points out (substitute man for egg, and society for omelette) that: (1) you can't make a good omelette with bad eggs; (2) no matter how good your imaginary omelette, it won't make bad eggs good; (3) even good eggs won't make an omelette if a bungler is the cook; (4) in any case, you can't treat men like eggs.

Never to dare to say anything false, and never dare to withhold anything true.—Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii, 15.

History is made by individuals, and is not a mere interplay of super-human or sub-human forces.—Belloc.

Book Reviews

The Development of Religious Toleration in England (1640-1660), by W. K. Jordan. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1938. pp. 560. \$5.00.

The third of Dr. Jordan's series of volumes traces the development of toleration in the period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth. In the first section the author discusses the rise and fall of Puritan predominance on the Parliamentary side during the war i.e. the effort to erect an Erastian Presbyterianism as the established form of church government and doctrine. Political expediency in the form of a Scottish alliance against the king dictated the acceptance by Parliament of Presbyterianism, and the highwater mark of this achievement by the dominant religious sect was probably the ordinance of January 1645 "for the more effectual putting in execution the directory for publique worship" which replaced the Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity. But Presbyterianism was only acceptable because of the possibility of a royal victory and the surrender of the king revealed the weakness of the Presbyterian cause. The Independents gained control on a platform of toleration and the sects multiplied.

In the second section of the book therefore the climax comes with the passing in 1650 of an "Act for the relief of religious and peaceable people," an Act which "should be regarded as a legislative landmark. . . . England in 1650 was without an Established Church" (p. 138). Two other divisions of the book deal with Puritan (Presbyterian) Thought and Sectarian Thought respectively in their relation to toleration. Here are to be found the views of extremists and moderates within the Presbyterian party and of Independents and Baptists.

In conjunction with its two predecessors this volume forms an indispensable tool for the study of that England from which seventeenth century colonists migrated to the shores of New England. For students of American History it supplies an excellent guide to the ideas which those colonists carried across the Atlantic. In these days of racial and national persecution it is well to remind ourselves that it is easy to stir up bigotry and animosity but, to quote the author's Preface, "History yields its blessings to mankind but slowly and painfully." Dr. Jordan's book therefore not merely gives the facts but it inadvertently points a moral.

H. H. COULSON.

The Church and the Nineteenth Century, by Raymond Corrigan, S. J. Bruce, Milwaukee. 1938. pp. xviii. + 326. \$3.50.

The present reviewer has had the privileged experience of taking part in two graduate seminars under Father Corrigan, has differed sharply with him once or twice on the social interpretations of certain nineteenth century happenings, has argued with him anent the economic importance of other events, but has always at last succumbed to his searching analysis and keen conclusions on anything connected with the nineteenth century. Father Corrigan is at his genial best when surrounded by a dozen hard-headed and belligerent seminar students, and at the end of a semester always has every one of them on his side.

Father Corrigan is at his next best in his writings. Articles in *America*, *Columbia*, *Thought*, in his own *Historical Bulletin*, and now this Bruce publication, *The Church and the Nineteenth Century*, show him in active and brilliant explanation of Catholicism's modern significance. As at the end of his seminars so also at the completion of a perusal of his book, everybody is on his side. For that reason these lines are not so much a review of the book as they are a review of its reviews.

The point raised here is more than adequately made in some of the following comments. The *Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis) reviewer says that "Father Corrigan, vividly, compellingly, paints the dramatic picture of the position and influence of the Church in a predominantly hostile milieu." Marshall Smelser in the *Fleur de Lis* (St. Louis) writes: "Father Corrigan's pen is in a state of permanent insurrection against secularized history and its attempts to naturalize agencies which can only properly be studied in the light of the supernatural." Doctor Guilday, of Catholic University, calls the book "a triumph of clarity and condensation." The Catholic Book Club opines that "to understand the true issues involved [in the nineteenth century] such a book as Father Corrigan's is a necessity."

Publishers' blurbs are usually hard to take, but this one from the Bruce publicity department is noteworthy as well as trustworthy: "With this momentous work he offers the key to many

questions which puzzle students of recent Church history." The fact is—in keeping with this comment—that too many students of history have been looking for explanations in too many wrong places.

Teachers have an interest in books quite different from that of publishers. One remarked of Father Corrigan's work: "I would have paid \$3.50 for the glossary in *The Church and the Nineteenth Century* alone when I was teaching sociology down in Texas." Another in Chicago said, "We expect to use the book extensively in our history and sociology departments." Instructors at Marquette University, Woodstock College, Catholic University of America, among others, intend to use Father Corrigan's work as a textbook.

The second printing of the book is now going forward, and a Spanish translation is also under way. Both of these incorporate slight changes and corrections. This reviewer read the book twice and complains only that it is not large enough.

JOSEPH H. FICHTER.

The Rise of Puritanism; or, the Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643, by William Haller. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. pp. ix and 464. \$4.50.

Professor Haller does not undertake to throw new light on the much debated questions regarding the identification of the first Puritan and the precise date when Puritanism may be said to have originated. Nor is he primarily concerned with the historical development of the movement which achieved its political triumph in the establishment of the Commonwealth and stamped its social character on the New England colonies. His object is to portray the work of Puritan propagandists in preparing that state of mind of which the civil wars, the revolutionary government and the array of non-conformist sects, not to mention such characters as Cromwell, Milton and Bunyan, were the eventual expression.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne was the signal for the return to England of a flock of Protestant extremists who had fled to the Continent during the Marian restoration. For a few years this group contented itself with the work of enlisting adherents and mildly voicing its discontent with the straddling Anglican policy. Thomas Cartwright's vigorous demands for the introduction of a presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government led to his expulsion from Cambridge University in 1570. From this time until the calling of the Westminster Assembly in 1643, Protestant reformers became increasingly energetic in promoting plans for reorganizing the church. Sporadic persecution served as a spur rather than a check to preachers and pamphleteers in broadcasting doctrines which tended to become more and more radical. While none of these sermons and tracts possessed enduring literary qualities, they clearly reveal the spirit of Puritanism and make understandable the firm hold it obtained upon large numbers of English-speaking peoples.

The author has succeeded admirably in his efforts to present a readable study of this mass of propaganda and its producers together with an unbiased estimate of the influence exerted by the Puritan movement in the early stages of its development. Students interested in the late Tudor and early Stuart periods or the background of the American colonies will find much valuable material in this volume.

C. J. RYAN.

Valley Forge, by Harry Emerson Wildes. New York. Macmillan. 1938. pp. xiii + 337. \$3.50.

"The Revolution was won at Valley Forge. A defeated, dispirited and tattered array came here hungry and broken; Washington led away the same men, drilled and disciplined into a confident army, in pride to victory." So much is true. But to continue, "the first beginnings in art, science, invention, steel making and scientific agriculture were made within sight of the encampment grounds" needs far more proof than that offered in *Valley Forge*.

Mr. Wildes claims that he spent ten years in compiling material for this book. He neglected neither printed material, family legend, nor atmosphere. The result is a well written and interesting account of Valley Forge. The author begins with a description of Valley Forge and an account of the first settlements. He carries the story through the occupation by the Continental army, and up to the present time. It is unfortunate that,

after so much research by the author, the book is neither documented nor contains a bibliography. The number of excellent illustrations and the map of Valley Forge Park do not entirely make up for this loss. Still the book is good collateral reading for anyone interested in life in the Continental Army.

EDWARD R. VOLLMAR.

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, by Fulton J. Sheen. Macmillan. New York. 1938. pp. xiii + 187. \$2.00.

The earlier books of Monsignor Sheen were scholarly works written in a scholar's language. The present book is a scholarly work written in a journalist's language. By this I do not mean that his present effort has deteriorated in any way as compared with his earlier writings; in point of fact, it is an obvious improvement since *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* was undoubtedly composed for the large majority of readers who do not delight in involved and learned verbiage.

The object of attack in the present volume is Communism, a topic to which Sheen has devoted several books and much oratory during the past few years. But the attack is made with a philosopher's precision and is not at all the too-current method of mere negation of Communistic mode and system.

The chapter on Capitalism is an interesting sample of this enlightened way of positive attack. It compares, in part, the Church's criticism of the capitalistic system with the Communist Party's criticism of capitalistic persons. The chapter entitled "The Trojan Horse" is noteworthy too as a facile unmasking of the "Americanization" behind which Communists hide themselves.

Sheen's Introductions are always excellent. Here he mentions the patent fact that the modern world's most needed virtues are justice and charity. Throughout the book he reverts to this need but only too frequently in an indirect manner. As a means of bringing to fruition these virtues some pages are given to the functional organization of society in accord with the papal encyclicals. *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* is deficient in not having an index, a deficiency which is not quite amended by the excellent and critical bibliography.

JOSEPH H. FICHTER.

Price Control in Fascist Italy, by Henry S. Miller. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. pp. 148. \$2.00.

Price control has become an increasingly prominent feature of the Fascist corporative system. This is not so much the actualization of an ideal plan for the evolution of Italy's economic structure as the necessary result of adopting adequate measures to cope with such emergencies as the application of sanctions during the Ethiopian campaign and price rises due to monetary realignment. In October, 1935, the policy of centralized and intensified price control was established as an integral part in the Fascist design to achieve the highest possible degree of economic autarchy for the nation.

The author is well equipped to sketch the history of price control in Fascist Italy and to offer an appraisal of its success. He has supplemented an intensive study of documents with extensive first-hand investigation and personal interviews with officials in Rome and the principal Italian cities. He finds that wages in industry and commerce have kept up fairly well with the cost of living. The same conclusion is indicated in agriculture, though reliable indices for labor income in this field are not available. The lack of improvement in Italy's foreign trade position must be ascribed to factors beyond control, such as poor weather for crop production and high prices on the international market. The author agrees with Italian economists in attributing deficiencies in the system chiefly to the fact that control is political rather than economic.

C. J. RYAN.

Letters of the Prince Consort (1831-1861). Selected and edited by Dr. Kurt Jagow and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale. New York. Dutton & Co. 1938. pp. xv + 381. \$5.00.

Dramatists and writers of scripts for the movies have been proceeding apace with the canonization of the Prince Consort. Even sober historians are according him the title of Albert the Good. Hence we are deeply grateful to Dr. Jagow and Mr. Dugdale for making this mass of original material available for the English reader and enabling him to form an accurate estimate of the character of this much discussed figure.

The letters and memoranda enforce the theory that Albert learned from Stockmar and King Leopold I that the moral dignity of the Court was the main support of the Crown. He set to work systematically to raise the prestige of the Crown by raising

the moral tone of the Court. The recent abdication of Edward VIII shows how lasting his influence was. The fact that he based his conduct on expediency rather than on ethical principles does not necessarily impugn his character. Personally the Prince Consort was a deeply religious man, but his attitude toward the clergy can hardly be praised. It is doubtful whether: "A Bishop ought to abstain completely from mixing himself up with the politics of the day, and beyond giving a general support to the *Queen's Government*, and occasionally voting for it, should take no part in the discussion of State affairs." Owing to his Protestant education and traditions his attitude toward and understanding of Catholicism leaves much to be desired. The Prince Consort appears to have done little to promote trade and commerce, if we except the doubtful benefits accruing from the Exhibition of 1851 which took up much of his time and energy. His economic views were those of the prevalent Manchester School. Conservative Constitutional historians question whether his position as virtual King of England was justified. Yet he used his influence with the Queen so wisely and so well that it would be difficult to cavil at his position.

These letters reveal Albert to us as an understanding husband, a loving father, and good and industrious ruler. But they also show that he had several distinct limitations. More careful study is needed before we can accord him the title Albert the Good.

WILLIAM C. GRUMMEL.

Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain, by Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J. University of California Press, Berkeley, California. 1938. pp. xii + 292. \$3.00.

Some overdue accounts are worth waiting for. Within the past ten years we have witnessed the publication of dozens of volumes that recounted, bit by bit, the story of Spanish Colonial America. In this series there has been one conspicuous lacuna, and it is this gap that Fr. Jacobsen adequately bridges over with his *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain*.

Restricting himself to a rather short, but significant, period, he tells us an interesting story, not of a single pioneer nor of a single missionary venture, but of the part played by the Jesuits in transplanting the Catholic culture of Salamanca and Alcalá to the cities of New Spain. Without neglecting the finer details, the external and almost accidental indications of sound scholarly research, he has above all been mindful that his is a story of epic quality, and as such he relates it. Hence his book makes good reading, for we catch here some of the flavor of the times of which he writes, some of the verve and enthusiasm that sparked the efforts of the missionary educators no less than those of the conquistadores.

Writing opportunely, in the wake of the Harvard Tercentenary, Fr. Jacobsen recalls the universities that flourished below the Rio Grande long before the landing of the Pilgrims, the authentic Christian civilization that was in evidence in Mexico before the drafting of the first Massachusetts town charter. For the students and teachers nurtured on falsely patriotic histories of education, all this will be a revelation.

This new chapter in the history of education is one of the publications resulting from the seminars conducted under the guiding inspiration of Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. Several worthwhile studies have already appeared or are now in process of publication. May the good work continue and prosper.

THOMAS M. HARVEY.

Louis XIV, by Hilaire Belloc. Harpers. 1938. pp. 389. \$3.75.

In this book, Mr. Belloc expressly avows that he is not writing a life of Louis XIV, but a study of monarchy. He contrasts class government or aristocracy with monarchy, and emphasizes the conflict between monarchy and the money power. Mr. Belloc shows how Cardinal Mazarin built upon the foundation laid by Richelieu; and how Louis completed the work of Mazarin. First, Louis crushes the money power in France by his decisive and severe punishment of Fouquet. He is not completely successful against the Dutch Merchants and the Bank of Amsterdam, although he does influence the Spanish Netherlands, thereby setting up buffer states and fortresses to prevent invasion from the North-East. Louis then struggles with the city of London, its new banking system and the "big English landowners." In the war of the Spanish Succession, the money powers financing the allies of Austria almost destroys all that Louis had built up. The English money power was the largest contributor to the support of the forces allied against Louis.

Mr. Belloc is at his best in treating of the wars waged by Louis. Few writers display so thorough an understanding of things military, campaigns, battles and war maneuvers. On the whole the book merits high praise, both for its readability and for the finality with which it accomplishes its purpose. Once again Mr. Belloc manifests his genius for projecting himself, and his readers, into the life of the era within which his historical study is set. The monarchy, with its strength and its weaknesses, is well depicted in Louis XIV. Literary critics will most likely pronounce this good history. In the absence of references, the historian feels safer in praising the book as good literature.

W. HARRIS.

Tecumseh and His Times, by John Oskison. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York. 1938. pp. xi + 244. \$2.75.

The history of the Indian frontier is the history of an age crammed with war, and it offers a fascinating field for differences of opinion. In the present very interesting account of a phase of that unequal struggle we are presented with the Indians' side of the controversy by one who was himself born in the old Indian Territory and who inherited from his mother a strain of Cherokee blood. For ten years, before going to College, he lived a close neighbor to a band of Tecumseh's people, the Shawnees, from whom he gained enduring impressions of their life.

This story begins with the troubled period prior to the American Revolution, continues through the years of that stronger flood of white settlers following upon the peace of 1778, and closes near the end of 1812. The pages of the work reflect the disadvantages of the Indian's enigmatical position: treaties, pledges and promises were not kept, reprisals for acts of injustice leading only to further exactions.

Tecumseh, "the king of the woods," presents a compelling picture. Strikingly dignified, with the Napoleonic personality and power of command, he shows remarkable insight and an indomitable energy in his continued efforts to establish an Indian Confederation against further encroachments of the Whites. In the author's presentation he is the greatest character to appear upon the scene, a man of outstanding honesty, marvelous self-control, with an adamant will and an unswerving fidelity to the cause of the Indians. In comparison, white officials are handled rather roughly. There are, however, two exceptions, "Mad" Anthony Wayne and the British general, Brock. Harrison, Tecumseh's "Nemesis", is an "alarmist" "with a chip on the shoulder attitude." The concourse of Indian warriors at Prophet's Town should have presaged no danger for the Whites. Harrison is credited implicitly at least, with the idea that an Indian uprising would expedite the pressing question of their removal, and upon his shoulders falls the opprobrium for provoking the Indians into the battle of Tippecanoe.

Although we may not agree with many of the interpretations of actions and events, and may be sceptical of the basis of some of the author's conclusions (No sources are cited), the work is highly valuable for a more appreciative understanding of the Indian frontier, and fills a current need.

The author with his facile pen envelops the whole story with the beauty of nature, so close to the heart of an Indian. His spicy parenthetical jibes, aimed at government officials, and often justified, enhance the picture. The recurrent human touches are quite fascinating and win the reader's sympathy.

N. P. LOEHR.

Christianity and Economics, by Sir Josiah Stamp. New York. Macmillan. 1938. pp. x + 191. \$2.00.

The true harmonization of economics with Christianity has for a long time been a difficult task for the majority of Christians. The difficulty of the task is understandable. Our complex economic society has evolved under materialistic principles, which have assigned false ends to economic activity. As a consequence, economists in general have constructed their theories with a view to positing the best means for attaining the supremacy either of the individual or of the state. Naturally, many of the economic principles thus formulated conflict with the teachings of Christianity, and cause them to seem unattainable.

Christianity and Economics is an attempt by Sir Josiah Stamp, director of the Bank of England, "to review the contacts between the ideals of Christianity and the working of the economic machine." Sketchily, he traces in successive chapters, the economic background of Palestine at the time of Christ; the teachings of Christ insofar as they may have some bearing on the economic order; and the influence of Christian doctrine on economic affairs of the past. In this last chapter he treats interest, slavery, just price and the "virtues" derived from the teachings of Calvin. Leaving the historical approach, the author then takes up an analysis of the relationships of the economic

order to the fundamental Christian principles of the "brotherhood of man," the "Good Neighbor" and the just steward. Finally, before giving his own conclusions, he portrays the attitude of the Church at the present day. Digests of "Quadragesimo Anno," of "Church, Community and State in Relation to the Economic Order" and "The Church and the New Economic Order" give the respective Catholic and Protestant analyses as to the causes and remedies of the present social evils.

To those interested in the social problem this book is recommended as provocative of further thought and reading on the subject. It is the sincere attempt of a recognized economist to promote a Christian social order. In general, the few shortcomings of the work, apart from the usual difficulty of private interpretation of the New Testament, flow from the author's failure to treat of the natural law in its relation to the economic order. As a result, he fails to present, *as forcefully as he might*, the real contribution of Christianity.

JOHN M. CORRIGAN.

The Constitution Reconsidered, edited by Conyers Read.

Columbia University Press. New York. 1938. pp. xviii + 423. \$3.25.

Last year, when we were celebrating the sesquicentennial of our Constitution, the American Historical Association fittingly centered its annual convention on the Document. This book is a collection of the papers delivered on that occasion. Since the papers represent the thought of competent scholars it is of some importance to all who are interested in the subject. Embodying, as it does, present-day opinions concerning the Constitution, the book should also become to future generations something of a source-book, for it is a reflection of our time and our research in the field. What our scholars thought about the constitution will become important to those who carry on the work.

The reader will not agree, of course, with the conclusions of each contributor, nor do the contributors themselves accept the opinions, in toto, of their fellows. Some were of the opinion that the papers did not embody all the essential phases of the subject. While such an objection has a modicum of validity, the general excellence of the papers renders it less devastating. The latter portion of the volume will attract many readers. Herein is made a study of the world influence of our Constitution. What value the document has had in other countries, for good or ill, is a phase of the thinking about the Constitution which deserves more direct attention, particularly now when efforts are being made to broaden our historical vision. The book deserves a favorable reception.

J. P. DONNELLY.

Winning Oregon, by Melvin Clay Jacobs. The Caxton Printers. Caldwell, Idaho. 1938. pp. 261. \$3.00.

Any future study of Oregon must include a diligent perusal of this new volume which aims at searching out the economic, social, and political forces that resulted in the addition of that northwest region to the nation. Dr. Jacobs has done a comparatively fine piece of scholarship, and his penetrating analysis of the motives and influences that urged the settlers to migrate is highly commendable.

There are, I suppose, many Americans who wonder why the Government did not gain the "fifty-four forty" boundary. This work points out that the question to be asked is rather why England lost the territory north of the Columbia River after she had occupied and, apparently, possessed it. The reasons are many and complex. The author insists that "no single individual, or group of individuals, saved Oregon for our nation." American trappers, traders, missionaries, diplomats, congressmen, presidents, and settlers all played an integral part. To the latter we are especially indebted, for with their appearance in that region wild animals disappeared, and the resulting dearth of furs defeated the objects of the Hudson Bay Company. The withdrawal of the Company's western headquarters to Vancouver Island was significant.

A vast amount of material has been covered, and many hitherto unused sources, especially newspapers, have been examined. Quotations abound. There are small sections where the organization of facts is hardly adequate; repetitions, especially in the quoted matter, occur; and due to the analytic treatment, the reader does not gain a clear unified picture of the whole. These points are slight, however, and may be merely the reviewer's private opinion.

The reviewer thoroughly regretted to find no recognition of Father De Smet and the Catholic missions, but he feels sure that this was due to a lack of information rather than ill will. Had the author been moved to investigate the work of the Catholic missions he would have found, prior to 1846, Jesuit priests from Missouri, not only traversing the whole region south of the

Columbia river, but also that north of the river. Indeed, these priests had established three flourishing missions in the north. South of the river the author would have made the surprising discovery of a school taught by Sisters, at St. Paul's mission, with sixty half-breeds (children of the white farmers of the Willamette Valley) in attendance. This as early as 1845, when the school was in its second year.

We miss any treatment of the control of the Indians. This subject must include Father De Smet's work. It can be truthfully stated that no man of that time enjoyed more influence over the western tribes than did this "Envoy of peace."

The reviewer does not mean to imply that the Catholic missions played an important part in the winning of Oregon, but he does definitely insist that they deserve a notable recognition. Father De Smet's writings and maps, his geographical knowledge, his influence over the Indians, his desire for governmental action in Oregon (p. 231), these alone well deserve a place in any treatment of Oregon.

Father De Smet is erroneously styled the first Catholic bishop in Oregon. He was never a bishop. I might add, however, that as early as July 24, 1846, a papal brief erected the Archbishopric of Oregon City.

N. P. LOEHR.

Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana, translated by Marion E. Cross. University of Minnesota Press. 1938. pp. xvii + 190. \$3.50.

The *Description* was published at Paris in 1683. Almost two centuries later John Gilmary Shea made the work available for the first time in the English language. The year 1938 marks the publishing of this new English translation by the Colonial Dames of America.

Hennepin's original *Description* was a best-seller in its day. It was read as a travel and adventure narrative. The section on the customs of the Indians proved especially interesting to the people of France's Golden Age. Evidence has been advanced to show that the book is more than a travel narrative, that, in fact, "it is propaganda of a very subtle kind; that is, it aimed to promote French imperialism in North America, but tried to ensure that the royal favor would descend on the 'proper persons' as instruments of policy" namely the "La Salle-Recollect-Jansenist clique." (Introduction)

By contrasting the present translation with Shea's, the merits and demerits of the former will become apparent. Shea's translation is literal, involved, and tiresome; this translation is free, clear, and pleasing. Miss Cross sometimes departs slightly from the original thought and the French flavor. The professional historian and critical student would have been better satisfied if she had included the documents—freely translated—which Shea includes in the Appendix of his work. A strong cover, good paper, clear print, convenient paragraphing and sectioning, notes, and an index enhance the value of the present translation. The book is a credit to Miss Cross and to those who sponsored it.

H. J. McAULIFFE.

American History, by Samuel Knox Wilson, S. J. Loyola University Press. Chicago. 1938. pp. ix + 719. \$1.44.

This revised high school text of Fr. Wilson's preserves intact all the advantages of the older work, and in addition offers many new teaching aids. The content is practically the same as that of the former edition. The author presents a well balanced and comprehensive history of America prefaced by a short account of the high lights of Medieval and Early Modern European history. His sane and unbiased treatment of Spanish colonization and civilization on the American continent should be especially noted. Throughout the book the facts are presented interestingly, objectively, and with Catholic frankness. However, the influence of the submarine warfare of the Central Powers in bringing the United States into the World War is somewhat overstressed. One would like to see the influence of Eastern Capitalists on our entrance into the War treated at greater length.

In form, the book is entirely new and embodies many excellent features. It is divided into two parts; the first, "The Study of Our Nation" deals with the political side of American history; the second, "Life in Our Country" embraces the cultural and social aspects. Each part is subdivided into units under which are grouped the chapters. At the beginning of each unit the essentials therein contained are italicized in large type, and throughout the book the more important sentences are printed in larger type. This arrangement facilitates the students' grasp of the essentials of American history. The maps are well done, as also are the illustrations. At the end of each chapter there is appended a group of suggestions for further research and a set of questions by means of which the student may test his knowledge of the matter contained in that particular unit.

The book should prove a very fine text-book. It unites sound, sane, Catholic scholarship with all the modern aids to teaching offered by improved printing, paragraphing, and unit grouping. Its low price will help toward establishing it as a standard text-book in Catholic schools.

L. J. DALY.

Medieval Handbooks of Penance; a translation of the principal libri poenitentiales and selections from related documents, by John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. pp. xiv and 476. \$4.75.

If, to quote Gregory the Great, the art of arts is the care of souls, these aids of the medieval confessor deserve attention. From the days of Saint Patrick to the end of the sixteenth century, and from the British Isles to Italy, priests, and at times also the laity, made use of detailed catalogs of the things Christians must not do if they were to avoid spiritual death and the hard road back to God. Less rugged souls of the present will breathe a sigh of relief at the thought that the *libri poenitentiales* are now of interest only to the historian.

But the historian will appreciate the scholarly collection under review. It is a unique contribution to the inner history of the Middle Ages. We know of no non-Catholic authority who has handled the delicate subject of Confession with less offense to Catholics. Professor McNeill and his able assistant have employed the best sources, including the leading Catholic authorities, and they have applied their own scholarship to a vast mass of original documents. Throughout, they show a sympathetic understanding of the gigantic task the Church had to perform. It is no fault of theirs if the crude directness of expression of a more virile age makes the book unsuitable for the drawing-room table.

We have an example of the restrained tone of the book, and at the same time an indication of the problem confronting the Church, in the opening paragraph of the Introduction: "The documents translated in this book were employed in administering a religious discipline to our forefathers during their transition from paganism to Christianity and from barbarism to civilization. With peculiar intimacy they reveal the faults of men and of society in the far-off age, as well as the ideals of the monastic and ecclesiastical leaders on whom responsibility was laid for the guidance of souls. They form therefore, a priceless record of one important stage in that perennial conflict of ideals with realities which marks the progress of man toward the attainment of a moral culture. The ideal was founded in monastic asceticism; the reality in primitive brutality." The spiritual battleground since has shifted, moral theology is more refined and penances are lighter. In no small measure this is due to the heroes who used the Handbooks.

R. CORRIGAN.

Democracy in the Making, The Jackson-Tyler Era, by Hugh Russell Fraser. New York. Bobbs-Merrill. 1938. pp. 334. \$3.50.

This work is of value for at least two reasons. It presents some new materials on the period treated, and it offers further vindication of the character of Tyler.

It is not, however, strictly speaking on the formation or development of democracy. The section dealing with Jackson's administration is rather an interpretation of the policy and practice of the United States Bank and of Jackson's war on it. Here the author brings out clearly and conclusively the evil genius and unscrupulousness of Biddle and his associates. In contrast to the perversity and selfish ambitions of the directors of the "Monster" Bank the character of Jackson stands in bold relief.

But if the author has done something toward fostering the idea that Jackson was right in his attack on the Bank, he has done more toward dispelling the idea that Tyler was a weak-kneed, prejudiced and inefficient President. It is this defense of Tyler's character that is of greatest value in the work. The author demonstrates the courage of conviction, justice, intelligence and honesty of the President. His analysis of Whig politics is of special interest and worth. Van Buren receives just about as much attention as the sub-title indicates.

The form and style make for easy reading. It is not an attempt at scholarly exhaustion of the subject, but rather an interesting presentation of various phases of the Jackson and Tyler administrations.

MARTIN HASTING.

American Problems of Today, by Louis M. Hacker. F. S. Crofts & Co. New York. 1938. pp. 354. \$2.00.

Again we are faced with the paradox of "contemporary history." Louis M. Hacker chose a difficult task in attempting a critical evaluation of the present *melée*, but he does well in his

effort to weigh impartially events so recent that yesterday's newspaper was their first herald. The book, published only this fall, refers to occurrences of last spring as though they were events of Ancient History.

A great part of the present work has already been published in *The United States Since 1865*, a study of which Hacker is co-author with Benjamin B. Kendrick. The special value of this book is its treatment of events between 1934 and 1938, a detailed history of the latest activities of the New Deal. The wealth of detail, supplemented by columns of figures, charts, and graphs, shows that Professor Hacker is a close student of contemporary politics and economics. The bibliographical supplement gives further indication of his up-to-date information on problems still seething in the turmoil of the great American melting pot. While the volume would be of use to a history or economics class, it is hardly the type of book that one would recommend for the light reading of amateurs.

The whole treatment of the New Deal is as impartial as possible, but there are pronouncements here and there which indicate that Professor Hacker finds much in its innovations which is not praiseworthy. From a social point of view he lauds its efforts to secure justice; from the economic and political point of view he is more critical. Though he states that the doctrine of *laissez faire* has failed, he does not like the alternative chosen by Mr. Roosevelt and his New Dealers, that of state capitalism.

GREGORY HUGER.

England's Years of Danger: a New History of the World War, 1792-1815, Dramatised in Documents, by Paul Frischauer. New York. Oxford University Press. pp. 342. \$2.75.

Add together the title, sub-title and the name of the author, and you have some indication of the general character of this book. The author is a journalist-novelist who dabbles in history. England's years of danger were the years of Napoleon's power on the Continent. The story is "dramatised in documents." And so, you have perhaps a thousand extracts from journals, official documents, memoirs, letters, strung together in chronological order with some effort at classification and with a wide-awake reporter's sense of the dramatic.

This is not a biography of Napoleon; it is not a formal history of the titanic struggle between military genius and money power; it is not the novel which Mr. Frischauer is capable of writing. There is no attempt to re-interpret, or even to interpret the past. What we are offered is a scrapbook, a scissors and paste assembly of interesting items, gathered here and there and arranged without apparent art. Source references are, to say the least, inadequate. And no one would cite Frischauer as an authority without first checking his accuracy. But what the book loses in scholarly value, it gains in freshness and vividness. Skimmed through rapidly by the general reader, it will make good entertainment. Judiciously employed by the high school or college teacher, it will serve to enliven class discussion.

It would be beside the point to insist that any selection of paragraphs and phrases torn from their context, may not, in fact generally does not reproduce the past objectively. The snapshots taken by a tourist, or even the news-reels that bring us close to current events, possess the objective candor of the camera, but the camera may be held by an artist who has prepossessions of his own. Frankly, Mr. Frischauer leans, gently, and perhaps unconsciously, to the side of Napoleon's enemies. But the alert teacher, student or casual reader need not be perturbed by this. Any one who reads his morning paper critically will know how to use *England's Year of Danger* with profit.

R. CORRIGAN.

A History of Mexico, by Henry Bamford Parkes. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. pp. 432. \$3.75.

This book again demonstrates the difficulty of writing a history of Mexico without some particular bias. To his inadequate understanding of the Catholic Church the author has added two new twists which are receiving no little attention in present day Mexican propaganda. The first is concentration on the glories and importance of the ancient native civilization, and its "destruction" by the *conquistadores* and their successors. The second is the implication, at least, that the Spanish conquest was something very terrible chiefly because it was the aggression of a capitalistic nation so unlike the considerate communistic government which Mexicans enjoy today!

One would like to attribute the author's lack of understanding of the very important distinction between *worship* and *veneration* in the Catholic religion to unfamiliarity with the terms. But other statements cannot be so charitably interpreted. To point

out but one instance: in attempting to explain the closing of the churches in 1926 by Calles, Mr. Parkes shifts the blame to the clergy. It seems they, of their own accord, went on a "strike"!

As to the old Indian civilization, it is true that the Aztecs did reach a high level of material culture, but they were decidedly inferior in spiritual or religious culture, unless one measures their greatness by the number of human lives sacrificed to Huitzilopochtli. The book, however, has its fine points. It is interestingly written and amply illustrated. The portrayal of the social and educational life of the Mexicans, early and late, is vivid and well done.

MARTIN HASTING.

The Judges of the Supreme Court, 1789-1937, by Cortez A. M. Ewing. U. of Minn. Press. Minneapolis. 1938. pp. 124. \$2.00.

What makes a good Supreme Court judge? What qualifications should he possess? Are lawyers or politicians best fitted to sit on the supreme bench? To these questions everyone will have his own answer, but Professor Ewing has sought to throw light on the problem by examining the qualifications of the seventy-six men who have actually held that position since 1789. He has produced here a statistical study of various data relating to the personnel of the Court for the one hundred and forty-eight years of its existence. This time is divided into four periods in each of which are discussed the appointments of judges, their geographical origin, their tenures, age qualifications, education, and experience in public office prior to serving in the Supreme Court. A great many statistics have been marshalled for the study and are presented for each of the afore-mentioned points by means of graphs and tables, which the author explains in some detail. Most enlightening are the chapter on appointments, wherein are discussed nominations of Supreme Court judges and their rejection or confirmation by the Senate, and that on the previous experience of the justices. This latter chapter points out that less than two-thirds of all the members of the Court since 1789 have had any judicial experience, and some of these had only a very small amount. In other words judicial experience has not seriously been taken into account in the past and many have been appointed of whose judicial capacity nothing was known. Our Supreme Court which has come to have the greatest prestige of all the branches of the government has for the most part been manned by politicians.

This is a new approach to the study of the history of the Supreme Court and the facts here presented are certainly interesting and, no doubt, of value in throwing new light on the recently controverted question of the Court. The work has one outstanding defect. Wherever he is not held down by the restraining influence of his charts and statistics, Professor Ewing's literary style has a tendency to sacrifice clarity and simplicity, and to obscure his ideas and observations in a maze of uncommon polysyllabic verbiage. While one may wonder at his literary gymnastics in the beginning, one soon grows weary and then annoyed at his refusal to be clear and direct, and to say what he means.

P. T. DERRIG.

A New History of Missouri, by Frederic Arthur Culmer. McIntire Publishing Company. Mexico, Missouri. pp. 594. \$3.00.

Missouri has been happy in her historians: with Billon's *Annals*, Houck's well documented works, Conrad and Hyde's tomes (properly entitled "Encyclopedic" History of St. Louis and History of Missouri), Walter Stevens's popular and charming volumes, and, best of all, Father Rothensteiner's thoroughly scientific yet entrancing books, it might seem that the field of Missouri history had been completely pre-empted, and that, of all men, a young foreigner, whose first acquaintance with Missouri was as a laborer in a stone quarry, could never be able to tell Missourians anything new and important about their own commonwealth. Yet here is thoroughly original work that fully merits its accurate title "A new History of Missouri." Speaking figuratively, it might be said that others had viewed Missouri on the surface, agriculturally; and left it to Dr. Culmer to dig beneath and there quarry out and place in view of all the state's foundation stones.

The figurative mine in which Dr. Culmer chiefly delved, was an accumulation of 7,000 letters of Judge Abdiel Leonard, a leader of the Missouri Whigs almost from the beginning of Missouri's statehood down to the Civil War. These hitherto unused documents disclosed so many under-currents, as well as surface-currents of the state's political movements that they called for the restatement which this book affords.

The temptation to overwork these Judge Leonard papers must have been very strong, but, except in the case of a letter of

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S. T. Glover, addressed to the Judge, their use is moderate and wise. Our author published this letter without correction, although the writer tells that old boner about *The Shepherd of the Valley* correction of which by Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia is one of the finest pieces of American humor ever spoken.

Dr. Culmer covers the entire reach of Missouri's story, from LaSalle (Why did he not go back to Marquette?) down to Governor Stark in 1938; and the references, at the foot of each page, assure the reader that every important statement is reliably vouched for. Unfortunately, the first chapter is rather jejune; while the last, on the contrary, is positively luscious. The intermediate pages are packed down and overflowing with a superabundance of legal and political incidents seasoned with a sufficiency of those homely actualities of the social life that make politics significant.

But there are notable omissions. As with most of our school histories of the United States, an outsider might be led to believe that the Mormons are the most American of all the religious denominations. Pages 198 to 221 are devoted to the Mormons. The Lutherans, who figure so largely in the making of Missouri, the Christians (Campbellites), and Episcopalians are not even named in the Index; the Baptists, and Presbyterians, like the Catholics come in for brief mention. Except Darby, no Catholic historian of Missouri may be found in the bibliography. Rozier, Mudd, Yealy, Edwards, O'Hanlon, Garraghan, and even Rothensteiner—all are missing. Four times the text almost called for the mention of St. Louis University, but the sentence is skillfully shunted off just as the name seems about to be uttered. There are no convents in Missouri; but the gang of the Jesse James shoots through seven pages. The World War is finished in just two.

If these last statements seem damaging, this is beyond the reviewer's intention. There is not a touch of real bigotry in the volume. The genial Introduction disarms all destructive criticism; and the thirteen pages of the Table of Contents, printed closely, certify that this "new" and very original history is a contribution to Missouri historiography.

L. J. KENNY.

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Coulton, G. G., *Inquisition and Liberty*. \$4.50.

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Grierson, Sir Herbert, *Sir Walter Scott*. \$4.50.

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Hanna, A. J., *Flight Into Oblivion*. \$2.75.

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Gilson, Etienne, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages*. \$1.50.